

The White House Flips Out

Washington Trouble For The Times

Howard Cosell And Gary Deeb Slug It Out

> The Great **New Mexico Gold Rush**

The Media Makes **A Godfather**

Why International Paper is helping to develop a 1,000,000-acre forest on land it doesn't own

117 e want to make sure there'll still be enough wood products around when your children grow up.

Industry sources estimate Americans will use about twice as much paper and wood in the year 2000 as they use today. And the U.S. Forest Service predicts that our nation's commercial timberlands won't be able to keep up with the demand.

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How we help landowners

We do it through the Landowner Assistance Program.

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We'll even find a contractor to do the actual work. Or



do the job ourselves at cost.

For this help, IP gets the right to purchase the timber at competitive prices.

We've got more than 700,000 acres in the Landowner Assistance Program now. We're aiming for 1,000,000 before 1980.

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keep the world's fiber supply going strong?

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If you'd like more information about International Paper's Landowner Assistance Program, write Dept. 219-A, International Paper Company, 220 East 42nd St., New York, New York 10017.



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Musings of an oil person...

Pretty exciting two weeks. People actually asking for our opinion. Lots of them. And after all those years of trying to get them to listen! Everywhere we go -parties, the supermarket, on the train -- people want to know what we think about the President's energy program. Usually tell them, right or wrong, it's nice to finally have a proposed energy policy. Something we've been urging a long time. Only wish we knew more details. Like the program's heavy reliance on converting utilities and industrial energy users to coal. How much will it cost? Can industry afford it? Heavy tax for those who don't convert, starting in 1979 for industry and 1983 for utilities. Is that enough time for them to convert? And what kind of coal will they be allowed to burn? Can environmental compromises needed for such a program be reached? And, if not, can the necessary new equipment be installed in time, and will it work? So far, no word on this. No word, either, on where the coal will come from. Underground-mined eastern coal or surface-mined western? Eastern means deeper, lower-volume mines -- will there be enough miners? If it's western coal, can environmental procedures be completed in time? ... I know we burn a lot of gasoline in this country. But is an escalating tax on gasoline the best way to cut fuel consumption? Maybe we should be relying on natural market forces, for a change. Will tax be fair to people who have to drive a great deal in order to make a living? How will the penalty tax on big cars affect the fellow with limited dollars and a big family to tote around?... Lots of other new taxes included in the program. Not only on gasoline and automobiles, but also on oil and natural gas for industrial and utility use, on domestic crude oil, and so on. Taxes mean higher prices. Will we be blamed again even though we don't get the money? After all, people worry about higher prices for things like gasoline and heating oil. The President talked about returning proceeds from the new taxes

to the people. Am I a cynic? Does it just seem that when a tax is imposed, less money comes out to "the people" than went in to the government?... Listened carefully, but didn't hear the President mention any plans for developing offshore oil and gas reserves in promising new areas. Would have liked to see solid recognition that conservation alone isn't going to solve our energy problems. Seems as though a provision for the rapid development of our domestic oil and gas ought to be part of a national energy policy, particularly if there are problems getting coal out on time.... Did hear him loud and clear, though, when he said the 1979 decontrol of domestic crude oil prices -- called for under existing law -- wouldn't happen. Wonder whether the natural gas price deregulation he promised during the election campaign will ever occur? Where does that leave us? He said companies should be able to plan in a climate of certainty. Well, we're spending a lot of money in the search for oil and gas, and now it seems the rules are being changed in the middle of the game again We're probably paranoid after all these years, but the comment about not enough competition in the oil industry seemed uncalled for. So did proposal for new reporting procedures. Is the government going to impose the same accounting requirements on other vertically integrated industries? Or did the President really tell us to be good, and maybe we wouldn't be divested? ... Really did like, though, the President's call for "the moral equivalent of war" to resolve America's energy problems. That's our kind of talk! Can remember how everybody pulled together during World War II. There was nothing this country couldn't do back then. Build a ship a week. Turn out more of everything we needed to win than anybody thought was possible. Sure it meant sacrifices. But we shared them equally. And we got the job done. Only hope the sacrifices we need to cope with our energy problems will be shared just as fairly.



TAKING THE MEDIA HOSTAGE



In the past few months, the air waves have been besieged by images of Hanafi Muslims, disgruntled Indianapolis land developers, Croatian nationalists, and berserk New Rochelle Nazis on a virtual rampage of terror. Or is it the terrorists and hostage takers who have been besieged by the media? MORE is publishing a special section on terrorism and the media.

P. 12 Reflections on Terrorism And The Media

By Michael Arlen

New Yorker television critic Michael Arlen takes a look at the media's love-hate relationship with terrorists.

P. 14 We Interrupt This Program

By Philip Trounstine

When Anthony Kiritsis took an Indianapolis loan company official hostage in February and demanded media coverage, he got it. Two local TV stations broadcast the entire ordeal live; one cut its cameras off when the going got rough. Who was right?

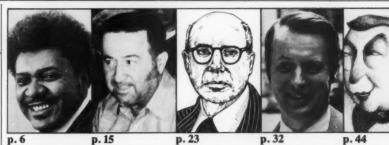
P. 16 Hijacking The First Amendment

By Randy I. Bellows

What would have happened if the movie theaters showing Mohammad, Messenger of God had refused to stop playing the film as the Hanafi Muslims demanded when they seized three buildings in Washington D.C. in March?

P. 18 Crisis Cop Raps Media

In an interview, Lt. Frank Bolz, head of New York City's Hostage Negotiating Squad, criticizes the media for interfering during terrorist incidents.



22 The Making Of A Godfather

By Thomas Plate

If the press is to be believed, Carmine Galante is destined to become the new super-don of the Mafia. Crime reporter Thomas Plate reveals that behind all the press promotion was a leaked Drug Enforcement Administration intelligence report. The leak was part of a cleverly coordinated government scheme to use the media's influence to promote the gangster they know the most about. Are godfathers now made in Washington?

Departments

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6 Hellbox

The Jody Watch: White House Flips Out

By Aaron Latham

A recent New York Times story described a reclusive President and an atmosphere of intimidation in the White House. Jody Powell devoted half an hour of a press conference to the subject and confessed to interviewing 20 White House staffers to find out who talked.

Times Watch: Mr. Smith Goes To Washington

By Philip Nobile

No longer the independent outpost it once was, *The New York Times* Washington bureau is now rocked by dissent.

Film: Lost 'Between

40 The Lines'
By Andrew Kopkind

Between the Lines is about life at an alternative weekly in Boston. But the film is as much about the alternative press as Mary Tyler Moore was about journalism in Minneapolis.

Television:

Right Hook To 'The Mouth'

Howard Cosell's recent low profile in the wake of ABC's current boxing scandal, is puzzling. Chicago Tribune TV critic Gary Deeb finds it perfectly in character and Howard Cosell fights back. In a rare statement, Cosell gives his analysis of the boxing scandal.

Overkill:

48 Media Gold Rush Goes Bust By David Chandler

Only the press is capable of turning a missile base into a henyard. In March, 98 journalists descended on a New Mexico military installation to report on a search for lost gold. They came in pairs: AP followed UPI, the Times followed the Post. No gold was found, but the phenomenon of pack journalism was taken to new heights of absurdity.

Furthermore:

52 Chasing The Press

By David Rockefeller

No one has a kind word for the press coverage of business, and David Rockefeller is no exception.

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LETTERS

POLK REPORT

As former ABC network correspondent in the Middle East, and before that the wartime area chief for the U.S. Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, I am more than somewhat familiar with the people and events covered in "Who Killed George Polk?" (May 1977). Polk of CBS, like NBC's John Donovan, was my colleague and good friend. Two aspects of your generally excellent article require correction.

1) Contrary to the account of Messrs. Roubatis and Vlanton. the New York-based Newsmen's Commission to Investigate the Murder of George Polk did not come into the picture only after the creation in Washington of Walter Lippmann's committee from the Overseas Writers Association. The sequence was the other way around, and the difference is significant. The Newsmen's Commission, which I helped set up, was organized virtually overnight as a hotly-felt response to the discovery of Polk's body on May 16, 1948. Within days, I had made a trip to Washington and obtained support for our independent inquiry from prominent members of Congress, including Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., chairman at the time of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

It was not until May 24 that the Overseas Writers began their dealings with General William Donovan and Secretary George Marshall. It seemed clear then, and seems even clearer now, that its committee of big-name columnists and commentators had been hastily thrown together in order to head off a no-nonsense inquiry by working reporters that might produce results embarrassing to the Greek Government, the State Department and the British Foreign Office.

2) Not all media people have observed the convenient and officially-encouraged silence. Constantine Poulos dealt with the Polk affair in a Greek Civil War book written in the late 1940s (which nobody would publish); I tried during long stretches as a Hollywood screenwriter to enlist independent producer interest in a take-off-the-gloves exposé; and John Donovan in particular has been haranguing news organizations, badgering public officials and banging vainly on doors for thirty years.

— Ted Berkman New York City

Yiannis Roubatis and Elias Vlanton reply: We stand corrected by Mr. Berkman's observations on the sequence of events concerning the formation of the two committees.

Our article should in no way diminish the efforts of those few courageous journalists like John Donovan who refused to accept the coverup and fought to bring the whole story into the open.

KISS

Your May 1977 Hellbox implies that writer Bob Weiner went to Japan on a press junket for Kiss, the rock band, as a representative of New Times.

Weiner was not representing New Times. He did send some short items for the magazine on spec, but was, as far as I can tell, representing himself and the Soho Weekly News, for which worthy publication he writes an amusing gossip column.

- John Lombardi New Times

If you want to run photos of flashy rock bands like Kiss—more power to you. But in listing the junketing writers on the Kiss tour of Japan, you erred.

I did not, as you stated, accompany Kiss to Japan; I declined the invitation. But I did keep the black satin baseball jacket ("Kiss" on the back in big silver letters) that they sent me to wear on the trip.

- Josh Mills Freelance Columnist for the New York Daily News

FALLEN STARS

Lloyd Kolmer ("Madison Avenue Catches Fallen Stars," May 1977) is proud of the fact that he got Marcel Marceau \$25,000 from Xerox after they turned down the mime's agent who asked for \$100,000. The way I look at it, he didn't get Marcel 25 grand—he cost him \$75,000. What does Kolmer care what his clients make or don't make? All he gets is \$1,000.

- Bill Carlyn New York City

LUNCH BREAK

So they close down the government every day so the White House correspondents can go eat lunch! ("Powell Panned," April 1977)

I work for the Miami Herald and we're supposed to get an hour for lunch; we rarely seem to have time to take it. But if a lid were put on the news every day between noon and one, if the world were ordered to stop turning for an hour, we all could chew our food properly and grow old as gracefully as a White House correspondent.

Steve Strasser
 Coral Gables, Fla.

DYER TROUBLE

In "Why The Best-Seller List Is A Breeze," (March 1977) Marlene Adler Marks quotes me as saying: "Your Erroneous Zones was just not thought of as a major tour book." What I did say was: "Your Erroneous Zones was not scheduled for a major book tour, however, Dr. Dyer did go to about eight cities to promote his book."

Also, Dr. Dyer never "barged" into any radio station. In addition, you say that Dyer had to "beg" for a half-hour of taping time at his local hometown station WBAB-Radio. Untrue. Joel Martin, news director of that station, requested an interview with Dyer months before the book became a best-seller. I'm the one that did all the begging.

I never worked as Associate Producer at Good Morning America. I worked as Talent Coordinator on WABC-TV's A.M. New York.

Dr. Dyer did purchase a number of books, but in your article you state that he stashed 3,500 copies of the book in the back seat of his new car. No one could stash that many copies in the back seat!

Dr. Dyer was indeed asked back twice by *The Phil Donahue Show*, but he never hosted the show. The show he did host was *At Your Service*, on KMOX-Radio in St. Louis for one week.

Last but not least, the one person at Crowell who was initially responsible for getting *Your Er*roneous Zones into the house was the Vice-President and Editor in Chief, Paul Fargis. Let's give credit where credit is due.

> — Donna Gould New York City

Marlene Adler Marks replies: Who really made Dr. Wayne Dyer's success? Who paved the way from obscurity to Carnegie Hall? Was it Gould? Paul Fargis? Dr. Dyer himself? Frankly, I opt for Dr. Dyer's agent, Arthur Pine, who saw gold among the dregs when first he read a paragraph about Dyer in his hometown newspaper and asked the wouldbe author to write an outline of the book. Pine spotted Dyer's "promotability" immediately. Alas, Pine's significant backstage role was edited from the piece, as was mention of Fargis' contribution.

Gould's argument is not with me but with Dyer, who clearly regards himself as a self-made man. He told me, in one of his 700 interviews, that he indeed had to force his way into WBAB, made the contacts himself-both there and at numerous other stations and indeed personally had to sell hundreds of books which he had bought from the publisher and stuffed into the back of his stationwagon. Was he creating his own myth? Regardless of the number of copies a stationwagon can hold, Dyer probably would have tied them to the roof if it would help him sell his gospel to the American public.

Finally, if Gould says she worked at A.M. New York, not Good Morning America, that's fine with me. In any event, her friends on the show didn't want to help her out, which was the entire point of the sentence. And I did, in fact, mix up At Your Service with The Phil Donahue Show. If Dyer had hosted Phil Donahue, he'd probably be a real star by

now.

Mr. President, we'd like to recommend these booklets for your energy program.



They're brief, they're factual, they're to the point.

And the electric companies have produced enough to instruct every man, woman, and child in the U.S. Literally, millions of printed pieces, over the past few years.

If everyone had acted on their suggestions, we'd be a longer way towards easing the energy crisis.

But the electric companies know that individual conservation can't do the job alone. So they're doing all they can to conserve, too.

That's why almost all of them have ceased building electric power plants fired by the critical fuels—petroleum and natural gas. Instead, they're now building plants based on noncritical fuels—coal and uranium.

That way, they won't be burning the raw materials that should be used for drugs, fertilizers, textiles, and other products.

What's more, the industry is now developing a national conservation plan, which will help people save even more precious energy.

It doesn't take much for individuals to help, either. To get information on how to conserve energy in the home, all they have to do is contact their local electric company.

Or write the Edison Electric Institute at the address below.

What each person does doesn't have to be a big deal. But if we all work together, we can accomplish a great deal.

Edison Electric Institute for the electric companies

90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

HELLBOX

Sexy Kid Snafu Assassin Mag Jail Tale Silkwood Fallout Ire in Arizona Doyle Foiled Cocaine Coverup Screw

EDITED BY MARIE SALERNO AND STEVE ROBINSON

PROMOTER ON THE ROPES

King Cons Black Newsmen With Bogus Quote



Don King delivers phony punch line.

"The daily press has virtually totally ignored a statement by the attorney general of Maryland made a week ago that Don King is clean and has been found innocent of any wrongdoing." So said a group of distinguished black editors and publishers at a press conference on May 3. Among those defending King, the sports promoter now under investigation for his role in the scandal-ridden U.S. Boxing Championships on ABC, were Dr. Carlton B. Goodlet, president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, Black Press of America; James L. Hicks, executive editor of the Amsterdam News; Kenneth Drew, publisher of the New York Voice; and Garth Reeves, publisher of the Miami Times.

Worse, said the black journalists, King has been given a bum rap by white newspapers for the purpose of returning the fight game to white promoters.

But, just as non-existent fights in Ring magazine led to the KO of King's tourney on ABC, so a non-existent statement may damage his credibility further.

A spokesman for Maryland Attorney General Francis Burch denies that his boss said any such thing: "We would never have made such a statement. It is not this office which is investigating the tournament, it's the U.S. Attorney for the district of Maryland." Well, U.S. Attorney Jervis Finney, whose office is investigating the boxing scandal, says the same thing: "I have never made that statement and I have no idea where they got it." Neither do we. King's spokesman doesn't know where King got the information and King isn't talking.

PORNO TOT

Dad Could Lose Kid In Spat Over Lewd Pic

A picture of a five-year-old girl in a bikini won't raise eyebrows in a Times Square porno shop, but it has brought her father to court in Decatur, Illinois.

The photo of little Brilynn Marie Lofgren was submitted to Hustler magazine by the girl's father, Robert Lofgren, in exchange for \$50.

A few days after the photo appeared in the April Hustler — accompanied by the caption, "hopes to have boobies as big as her mommie's" — a private citizen complained to the Decatur child welfare office, and the wheels of the state's bureaucracy began to turn.



William Sheppard of the Illinois Department of Child and Family Services said the picture was certainly not in good taste, but he didn't know if any law had been broken. He left that to the newly elected State's Attorney, Pat Walsh. Walsh said Hustler is not legally obscene under Illinois law (although personally he thinks it's "trash"), but he ordered an investigation to determine if Brilvnn Marie is a neglected child. If so, she could be made a ward of the court or even. in extreme cases, be taken from her parents' custody.

Walsh investigated and he's now asking for a court order declaring Brilynn Marie a neglected child. While he won't reveal what he found in the Lofgren home, Walsh does say that the *Hustler* photo alone is not reason to file the petition.

Daddy Lofgren is not com-

-SCOTT MURPHY

CELL SAGA

Reporter "Jailed"; Talks to Dawson Boys

Charles Postell, the 38-yearold state editor of the Albany, Georgia, Herald was a little skeptical when he read the fundraising letter from Julian Bond and the Southern Poverty Law Center about the "Dawson Boys." The five illiterate black teenagers (they signed their confessions with X's) were charged with the murder of a customer during a grocery store robbery in January, and held on \$100,000 bail each. The five, who now claim they were framed, all face the death penalty.

Bond's appeal wasn't what bothered Postell. Rather, the editor's curiosity was aroused by a statement that the boys read the Bible in their cells and did not play cards because, in Bond's words, "card playing is against

their religion."
So, with the approval of his city editor, Postell went over to see if Terrell County Sheriff Jerry Dean would let him find out the truth about the boys. At first the sheriff was reluctant. But Postell says he "convinced him it might be a good idea" to show that Bond had gone slightly overboard in praising the boys' character.

Feigning drunkenness, Postell was escorted into the jail bullpen by the sheriff himself. After more than an hour of acting, he had won the boys' confidence.

In his front-page story the following Sunday, Postell reported the deception and the fact that the defendants, while "no more pious than any of the other men in that bullpen," had nonetheless maintained their innocence.

Postell's piece, which discussed all aspects of the case, "seems to have offended a great deal of Terrell County," he says. Postell's statements about the boys' innocence angered locals who figured only the national press was rallying to the Dawson Boys' defense.

But what if they had confessed to the murder?

CANDID CAR COMPANY

SHOWDOWN *1: NUMAN ENGINEERING
(Wherein we "" thuse how quiet, how roomy, and how generally good
out feet cuts are almaking tipe pleasant for their occupants.)

Opel finishes third to VW and Toyota. Drats!



Buick thought it was on the right track when it paid for an independently run test to size up its "great little car," the Opel, against four leading competitors. But Opel never made it to the final lap—it finished last in fuel economy and the Volkswagen Rabbit won out overall. Nevertheless, Buick and McCann-Erickson, the agency which handles Opel, ran the ads anyway. Sales are up over 537 per cent from last year. Let's hear it for honest advertising.

"I wouldn't have used that," Postell says firmly. If sub-poenaed, he says he would refuse to testify, and he expects that his publisher would back him up. City editor James Gray was not so certain. He said that the situation was hypothetical, but when asked if he would print an admission of guilt under those circumstances, he replied, "I suppose so."

Recalling his jailhouse conversation, Postell admits, "I probably could have taken advantage of them. I didn't think about it in advance... Do you think it was ethical?"

As it turned out, Postell could have been spared his soulsearching. Julian Bond had his facts confused—the "Bible reader" turned out to be another accused killer whom Bond's group was also trying to assist.

-MARK PINSKY

sports editor Bill Clark blitzed the paper's new editor, Jim Squires, with reports of a three-year-old conspiracy involving the old Sentinel management. The conspiracy, claimed Clark, was to silence former Florida Blazers (World Football League) co-owner Rommie Loudd, a black, because of his comments about racism in the Orlando area.

Loudd, a former pro linebacker and front-office exec, was jailed for 14 years after selling small amounts of cocaine to an undercover cop who, says Clark, entrapped him. Clark was canned for his overzealous support of Loudd, and sports reporter Greg Boeck was shown the door for hanging around with Clark.



Bill Clark: Fired for defending busted football owner.

The former sports editor believes there was a tightly woven conspiracy involving the state attorney's office, the local sheriff's department, and former Sentinel editors. According to Clark, the Sentinel's stories about Loudd were "false, inaccurate, and lying." The articles alleged that Loudd was the head of an international drug-smuggling ring, and charged that Loudd and unnamed Blazers were bringing in pounds of cocaine in lobster crates. Both scoops turned out to be untrue.

Squires, who directed some wide-scale housecleaning after replacing former editor and publisher Bill Conomos, was critical of the paper, but pulled up short of saying it was involved in a conspiracy. "We are investigating what happened to Rommie Loudd and determining what the Sentinel's role was in that case,' Squires says. "There was some pre-trial police reporting that was incorrect, but that was the fault of allowing police agents to wrongly characterize Loudd as an underworld drug kingpin without checking the veracity of their claims."

"I think the newspaper (under Conomos) has to plead guilty to excesses and unprofessionalism on the Loudd case," Squires explains. "But this was generally the level of professionalism here at that time...they were given to sensationalize and hype all kinds of stories."

- BILL BELLEVILLE

ASSASSIN MAG

Sheet Sets Sights On World of Hit-Men

"The apocolypse (sic) is a slit in the darkness. The snap and hiss of eternity cracks out of a gun; and, the sudden, dizzying sensation that you are about to die. Blue steel searing at the edges of a world."

The above sentence is the lead from an article in the first issue of Assassin, the latest magazine to cash in on the blood 'n' guts market. As the tube is forced to limit throat-slitting and head-stomping, specialty magazines

LOUDD NOISE

Florida Paper Investigates Self

The Sentinél Star of Orlando, Florida, has carried investigative reporting one step further than most newspapers: it is investigating itself

The inquiry began after former

HELLBOX

are picking up the slack. Already we have Soldier of Fortune, Vigilante ("the magazine of personal security"), and Violent World. And now the bimonthly Assassin joins the ranks.

Assassin debuts with a recipe for manufacturing nuclear bombs ("to awaken people to the fact that it can so readily be done"), an



"exposé" of legionnaire's disease (it was really a diabolical murder plot), blueprint plans for killing Fidel Castro (he'll never know what hit him), a profile of a mercenary (he's a bad go-getter), a piece about sex with the K.G.B. (evidently they are good), and an article on bumping off heads of state (it can't be done for less than \$3 million). The cover has Jimmy Carter's right cheekbone in the crosshairs of a rifle sight.

Editor-publisher David Kornblum, who also writes all the articles in Assassin, claims an initial press run of 128,000 for the April premier issue.

Stressing reader participation, Assassin invites armchair mercenaries to send in answers to the following questions:

• "How would you investigate the collaboration between the Latin American Nazi Movement and American Intelligence organizations?

"How would you take out of a hostile country minutes of a presidium or a cabinet meeting?

"How would you plan a coup to overthrow a hostile government (it can be landlocked or oceanfront)?" The best replies will be printed in future issues.

"I see the world as really amoral," says Kornblum, explaining his editorial policy. "All you have to do is look at the various genocides going on in the world. Nobody really cares, nobody does anything. Nothing really can be done. Now our first issue is to shock and appall people into realizing that the world of the assassin is really ugly." But, Kornblum cautions, "the magazine has absolutely no politics."

It has little accuracy, either. On the back cover is a list of actual and attempted Presidential assassinations in the U.S. Of the eight entries listed, there are four major mistakes, including listing John Kennedy's assassination in 1961.

Kornblum anticipates a wide readership for Assassin. "I think the blue-collar would be attracted to it as well as college kids. Women — you know, house-wives — would be curious and, needless to say, there are some people who get off on this stuff."

-TOM MILLER

R.I. SCREWED

Unwanted Ad Provokes Providence's Wrath

There it was in Screw: an eight-inch ad promoting Rhode Island tourism. Everyone in the state's Department of Economic Development denies having anything to do with the ad's appearance in such an unlikely medium. Now, the state attorney general has been asked to investigate.

But Screw editor Al Goldstein had a ready explanation: "We picked Rhode Island because it's the smallest state. We're holding them hostage. We want Providence. We're going to run the ad larger and larger each month until we have 48 pages of Rhode Island tourism ads. We're playing for keeps." Goldstein insists his attack has nothing to do with the state's tough obscenity law that buries his publication behind the counter.

But the lawmen in this tiny New England state are not laugh-

CHECK IT OUT

TACKY: Sport magazine, worried over image as kids' fan book, goes for Playboy/Penthouse crowd. May issue has cheesecake cover shot of golfer Jan Stephenson, entire section on sex and the athlete. Piece by sports groupie on why jocks are best in bed ... Worst taste department: "It's Thumbs Up For Man Who Lost Arms," L.A. Times headline Time-Life Books, Inc. sending dozen people to Iran to help set up New Learning Publishing Company, private concern backed by Shah's oil millions. Big project



will be car repair manual in Farsi, official Iranian language Patty Hearst to go to work for daddy's Good Housekeeping magazine. Job said to be condition of her probation. GH editors unwilling to talk.

CHIC SHEET: Bloomingdale's, New York's beautiful people department store, looking to create multi-service consumer mag. Taps design genius Milton Glaser for advice Head, mag for dopers, fires editor Alan Earle. One charge made by publisher Charlotte Greenberg: smoking grass in the office.... Former TV newsman Joe Harper, half of first husband-wife news team on NYC's WPIX, retreats to solitude of island off Maine coast. Builds own house, hopes to realize life's dream of lobstering.... Joyce Maynard, wunderkind of The New York Times, also leaves Big Apple for wilds of New England. Now living in New Hampshire, denies rumors of dissatisfaction with the Times. Says, "I've been writing too much in the last few years. I just want to take a rest."

PRESS PERKS: Legislation that would require financial disclosure by the media planned by Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) and Congressman David Obey (D-Wis.). Meanwhile, House Commission on Administrative Review is checking out media freebies with an eye toward charging the corps for phones, typewriters and office space in Congressional Office Building "Murder at Elaine's" serial in *High Times*, penned by "George R. Boz." is tale of death at NYC's literary watering hole. Character in fictional epic suspiciously like Clay Felker. Author is said to be former Felker employee.

SAYONARA, BABY: New Yorkers, having enough trouble finding a cop, might lose most famous one to Hollywood. Storm of protest from Police Commissioner Mike Codd, cop union head Sam DeMilia, Daily News over producers' plan to shanghai Kojak, because on-location costs are too high. Scriptwriters of hit show not too certain of NYC geography as it is: had supercop driving into Brooklyn over 59th St. Bridge, which goes to Queens... Jerry Della Femina, ad agency pundit, who took on Mad. Ave. in book, From Those Wonderful Folks Who Brought You Pearl Harbor, now zeroes in on Italians in upcoming opus from Viking. Working title: In the Words of Richard Nixon, They're Not Like Us.

NUCLEAR ATTACK: NBC special on hazards of nuclear waste received enthusiastic praise from critics of nuclear power, but also provoked highly organized letter-writing campaign from industry lobbying groups. One sponsor, Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance, knuckled under to pressure saying, "It's an aggravation we really don't need... I don't suppose we'll ever sponsor one again." NBC, feeling heat, has cooled on following up first show....Jack Anderson's Washington Report, \$48-a-year, 8-page newsletter for the business community, disappointed at first year's circulation. Considered folding, now determined to stick it out. Sunday Times magazine staffers, irked at Editor Ed Klein's new regime, look to Guild for help. Newspaper union presents Klein with 6-point list of grievances about work procedures.

OUTSIDE LOOKING UP: Putney Westerfield, executive headhunter at Boyden Associates, has job of finding "president" for Jann Wenner's Rolling Stone. Joe Armstrong's resignation set off barrage of phone calls to RS switchboard. Wenner's new baby, Outside, got direct mail return indicating 40,000 subs over 10 per cent response from test mailing in May. Outside offers advertisers juicy deal: 100,000 rate base when real circulation expected to be 300,000 Times' top lawyer, James Goodale, huddling with Palm Beach Daily News at posh Breakers Hotel says, "When someone steals information and gives it to the Times what the hell are we going to do, not publish it?" Sees nothing wrong with printing stories obtained through lying, bribing, breaking into offices - so long as reporter is not one who breaks the law.

GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT: Just because Susan Ford's dad lost his job running the country doesn't mean the family has fallen on hard times. Susan was paid \$7500 for eight photos in June Good Housekeeping. Shots show family relaxing in White House. . . A visit to FBI headquarters in Washington has prompted notoriously inconspicuous Abbie Hoffman to write on the subject for Penthouse. Date of publication equally elusive. ... How much is a Kennedy worth these days? At the New York Daily News, \$156.89 a week. Caroline will join legions of copykids and will be paid union scale for chores like fetching coffee and doughnuts for city room hordes in addition to the more mundane task of Caroline Kennedy helps pay running copy from desk to desk.



the rent.

SHORT 'N' FUNNY: Stiller and Meara of Blue Nun, Jack-inthe-Box ads fame, to star in 5-minute syndicated TV show. Miniseries, to debut in July, will feature two 2-minute sketches separated by commercial New York Times, Newsday on new tack. Sponsoring summer sailing regattas. Times bucks will float New York-New London race, Newsday bankrolling run around Long Island....Parade Rest, civilian mag for military personnel, makes debut this month. Aiming for 600,000 circulation. "Department of Worthless Information" regular feature in weekly: "We've got lots of it in the Army," says editor Will Lieberson.



Al Goldstein: Promoting tourism in Rhode Island.

ing. According to Edward Caron, a spokesman for the attorney general, a letter has been sent to Screw requesting verification of authorization to print the ad. If Goldstein can't produce any authorization, the state will consider civil or criminal action.

Goldstein said he received the letter and is not cooperating with their inquiry. "We're going to turn Providence into a porno zone," he says.

-DIXIE JOSEPHSON

ARIZONA CONFLICT

Lawyer Blue-Pens **IRE Report**

The Arizona Star wasn't the only paper to have its lawyers review the IRE series on organized crime in Arizona prior to publication. But the Star appears to be the only paper that had an attorney whose clients included some of the IRE report's major targets wielding a blue pencil.

Star lawyer William Dolph is also an attorney for the Valley National Bank, which reportedly made loans to several Arizona crime figures. Dolph, Star city editor Richard Gilman, and two reporters who participated in the IRE investigation all had a hand in editing the series - but Dolph was given the final say.

Managing Editor Frank Johnson sees nothing wrong with having Dolph on both sides of the report. "We didn't have any problems," he says, "we felt very comfortable." But, according to

one Star reporter, Dolph deleted the names of several judges and lawyers with whom he had had dealings in the past and his actions showed not a conflict of interest but an example of "attorneys protecting one another in Arizona.'

Dolph says he had assured the Star of his impartiality. As to whether his dual roles constituted a conflict of interest, he says, "No way that's anybody's business except mine and the Arizona Star's."

ROBERT SNYDER

W'GATE

Publisher Backs Out; **Author Cries "Foul"**

Publishers have been known to throw the book at writers who renege on lucrative contracts. But in the case of James Doyle, a Newsweek Washington correspondent and former chief spokesman for the Watergate Special Prosecutor, there seems to be a rather ironic switch.

Doyle had tape recorded his recollections at the end of each working day with the sole objective of writing a book after his duties with Cox and Jaworski ended. In February 1975, Doyle was approached by Edward Burlingame, a senior vice president and editor at J.B. Lippincott. One month later, he signed a contract for a \$40,000 advance.

By summer, it became clear that Doyle would not meet his October 31, 1975, deadline, and would surpass the 90,000-word count his contract specified. "The book's success will depend on its quality far more than the timing of its appearance," said Burlingame in a letter to Doyle on August 22, "so don't worry about taking the time you need to write something you're reasonably satisfied with."

Doyle finished his book in January 1976. Burlingame told Doyle he was pleased with the results, and the two proceeded to make extensive cuts.

Then, on March 3, Burlingame told Doyle he would not receive the remaining \$15,000 on his advance. Doyle believes it had been Lippincott's intention to beat

HELLBOX

Leon Jaworski's Watergate book to the stores and to the Book-ofthe-Month Club.

Doyle angrily refused the scaled-down offer, and Lippincott cancelled the whole deal, requesting that the advance be returned.

"Burlingame came to me," says Doyle. "He praised me Susan T. McElhinney



Jim Doyle: Watergate author shafted by publisher.

every step of the way and then turned around and rejected the book."

Burlingame has a different view of the events. "Sure I wrote encouraging letters and praised his work. But I balanced it with a lot of criticism, too. The manuscript was twice as long as it was supposed to be, and, in view of the quantity of books on the subject, it was vital that we get the book out as soon as possible."

After months of seeking out other publishers for a deal which would enable him to repay Lippincott the \$25,000, Doyle finally signed last fall with William Morrow for an \$8,000 advance. Not Above the Law will be published this month. It is also a Book-of-the-Month alternate.

Despite initial indications of the book's success, Doyle is bitter. "I have almost no financial interest in it," he said. He estimates the book will have to sell out its entire first printing of 20,000 copies before he makes a dime.

FILM FLAP

Producer Takes First In Silkwood Case

Los Angeles filmmaker Buzz Hirsch is discovering just how out of focus the rights of moviemakers are as he tries to resist a subpoena for research materials gathered for his first feature film The Karen Silkwood Story. At issue in U.S. District Court in Oklahoma City is whether research for a screenplay has the same protection against being subpoenaed as a newsman's notes.

This legal novelty is the latest twist in the complex Karen Silkwood case. Silkwood, a 23-year-old lab analyst at Kerr-McGee's plutonium processing plant at Cimarron, died in a mysterious car accident in November 1974 while driving to Oklahoma City to meet a New York Times reporter. She was reportedly carrying a folder that documented plutonium losses, health viola-

tions, and other irregularities at Kerr-McGee. The folder was never found and a detective for the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union declared the wreck no accident.

Silkwood's father is suing Kerr-McGee for conspiring to contaminate his daughter with plutonium and to cover up her death. The 32-year-old Hirsch was drawn into the suit last February when Kerr-McGee obtained a sweeping subpoena of all records, recordings, memoranda, and correspondence Hirsch had collected.

While his lawyers call the subpoena a "fishing expedition," Hirsch may be on shaky ground. Oklahoma's shield law doesn't guard his confidential sources because it is narrowly drawn to cover only regularly employed newsmen, not filmmakers. There is no legal precedent that Hirsch can rely on either. The only similar case involved a 1975 Los Angeles grand jury subpoena of materials relating to a film on the Weather Underground. But those subpoenas were withdrawn after a storm of protest.

Hirsch and his lawyers say he is protected by the First Amendment. "The ultimate form the speech takes," Hirsch's lawyer Stephen Rohde asserted, "does not dictate whether the researcher is protected by a newsman's privilege."

But U.S. District Judge Luther Eubanks ruled on April 12 that the need for evidence overrides the protection of confidential sources, forcing Hirsch to give a deposition.

During the deposition, Hirsch refused to answer a number of questions and was threatened with contempt of court. But on May 6, the U.S. Court of Appeals in Denver granted a temporary stay of any contempt action.

-DAVID SLOAN

ABE'S NAY

Times Editor Peeved At Penthouse Profile

Despite A.M. Rosenthal's high office as executive editor of *The New York Times*, no one has ever written a detailed profile of the man. Rosenthal, it seems, would like to keep it that way, which would explain his recent letter to *Penthouse* magazine.

Penthouse is planning to run such a profile in its September issue. It will be written by Richard Pollak, former editor of MORE. In five years at MORE, Pollak wrote, and edited, a full measure of good and bad about the Times. Rosenthal remembers only the bad. He refused to sit for an interview (which is not unusual for him), and he suggested in his letter to Penthouse that Pollak was not right for the assignment.

Pollak, said Rosenthal, was not interested in writing a fair piece since he had demonstrated a consistently hostile attitude towards the *Times*. Rosenthal's "I thought you ought to know" approach stopped short of a request that the piece be killed, but, according to a *Penthouse* source, that was the clear message of Rosenthal's letter. The latest word from *Penthouse*? Look for Pollak's piece in the September issue.

BORDERLINE CASE



The New York Times front-page caption read: "The Mexican youth is found strapped to the underside of a vehicle at border crossing point near Tijuana, a point of frequent illegal entry into U.S." John Crewdson's story, datelined El Paso, April 21, recounted the reporter's adventures with the harried U.S. Border Patrol guards on a night roundup of illegal immigrants. But this sad-eyed border-hopper was not among the night's catch. The Times saw fit to capture the moment with a ten-year-old file photograph.

CHINESE DAILIES

Mott St. Scene Of News War

The last outpost of daily newspaper competition is New York City's Chinatown, where no less than eight Chinese-language dailies are warring for circulation and profits. An April 26 New York Times story called it "a renaissance of feisty journalism." In truth, it's a throwback to the era of press wars. Except this time, instead of Hearst battling Pulitzer, it's the Communists against the anti-Communists.

What the *Times* missed is the fact that half of Chinatown's papers are controlled by foreign interests in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Peking. Their target: 200,000 Chinese now living in the New York metropolitan area (70,000 of whom are packed into Chinatown).

The Communist entry is the China Daily News, a biweekly for the past 25 years which this year resumed five-times-a-week publication. Much of its copy comes from the Chinese Mission to the UN, which sends over the outpourings of the New China News Agency and People's Daily, published in Peking. The Taiwan entry - the World Journal - is the largest and most modern of the Chinese dailies. It was founded in February 1976 by Tih-hu Wang, a man with impeccable anti-Communist credentials. Wang is a member of the central committee of the Kuomintang, Nationalist China's ruling party, and he rose to the rank of general in Chiang Kai-shek's army during the civil war. The World Journal receives its "news" by telephone and wire from Wang's own United Daily News, Taiwan's largest newspaper. And the Chinese Information Service, operated by the Taiwan government, dispatches couriers armed with a daily file of press releases to all seven non-Communist papers, including the World Journal.

Sing Tao, which has a sister paper in Hong Kong, is the creafor S.

is enclosed

Signature _

Orders outside U.S. add \$1.00 per file for postage and handling. Allow three weeks for delivery.

tion of Sally Aw, daughter of W.F. Aw, the legendary, Burmese-born entrepreneur who made his fortune in Tiger Balm Oil, a cure-all with a menthol-like cooling effect when rubbed on the forehead. Sing Tao, in almost a dead heat with the World Journal for the lead in circulation (at about 27,000 copies a day), occasionally upsets Taiwan by publishing ideologically "incorrect" stories lifted from The New York Times and other sources.

If circulation is the key, it looks like the Communists (circulation 1000 copies a day) are in tough shape in Chinatown. But the national news media ought to consider shutting down its Hong Kong listening posts and moving the China-watchers to Mott Street. All the action, or at least enough of it, may be right here at home.

- DONALD KIRK

ARTS AND CRAFTS

Newsday 79 (ENTS)
THE LOW, MAALI NEWSPARE O MARINE ENTRING APPORT OR, INC.

Newsday / 10 CENTED AND A ST A. SET





Is a picture worth a thousand words? Newsday, the Long Island newspaper, seems to think so. Managing Editor Donald Forst says of these front pages, "We wouldn't have put them in if we thought they were obscure."





REFLECTIONS ON TERRORISM AND THE MEDIA

In A World Monitored On TV Screens, Terror Is Theater And Rebels Are Stars

Do we have a psychic habit of violence?

BY MICHAEL J. ARLEN

Terrorism has been around us for some time, but media coverage of such acts is something new. Or is it?

For instance, in 1757, a young Frenchman called Robert Francois Damiens made an unsuccessful attempt upon the life of Louis XV, wounding him only slightly in the face. In return for this one fruitless act of terror, Damiens was visited by the state with a whole pageantry of far worse terror. Broadsides were posted around Paris and criers sent into the countryside, and before the assembled multitude of peasants and aristocrats (Casanova was among them) the wretched Damiens was systematically tortured to death over a period of 48 hours in ways so unspeakable, according to witnesses, that for a while his long black hair was seen to stand on end and by the last of the two days it had turned white. What Damiens himself remembered, so said one of the executioners, were the crowds: he had never seen Paris as such a theater.

But we live in the present, and terrorism as well as our connections to it have become more institutionalized. A band of revolutionaries, let us say, or maybe leftists, or maybe nationalists, has occupied a bank, or perhaps an embassy, or perhaps an airline terminal, and has killed some of the guards and holds two dozen bystanders as hostages and demands the return of the Holy Roman Empire or of the Third International or else the dissolution of the metric system.

We watch the show on television. Predictably, we watch the police surround the bank. Or the bodies of the slain guards being removed from the airline terminal. The mayor of the city is shown on the evening news at his "command post." Also, the brother-in-law of the man inside the embassy who is wired to thirty-five kilos of nitroglycerin.

Afterward, also predictably, with the city saved and the terrorists locked up or killed, solemn questions are raised by congressmen and editorial writers as to the possible mischief caused by the coverage of such events. Might not (it is suggested) a group of malcontent Boy Scouts, their minds inflamed by such seductively televised drama, enact a similar ghastliness upon the headquarters of the Boy Scouts of America? May not Lithuanian commandos one day seize control of the Time-Life building and demand carte-blanche editorial control over a full issue of *People*? Can one, in fact, make even such light-hearted suggestions as these today and be certain they will not be followed up?

No. Not always. As the poet has written, these are odd and danger-

ous times, much as they always were; except that lately we have fashioned an abstraction known as the "top 40 major markets" out of the troublesome reality of the Union, and thus an audience out of a nation; and so it is small secret that, for the time being at least, many citizens view life as a performance to be witnessed on a small rectangular screen, and the figures on that screen — be they actually politicians, athletes, terrorists or tap-dancers — primarily as performers, even as stars.

In fact, the star now seems to be the prime authority: the *author* of what we see, and what he or she appears to be. In entertainment, a star says which parts he will play, and how he will play them, and when he will play them, and for how much. The authorial work of the screenwriter as well as often the *auteurial* work of the director bends to him, or her. In news, the star presence is divided between the newsman and his subject, the politician or terrorist—or in sports, between the announcer and the football player. A star can be defined as anyone who seizes or otherwise totally occupies the sacred space of the screen. Thus, often the ultimate mission of the modern renegade or terrorist is to take or, so to speak, to kidnap this space from his rival, the newsman

An irony lurks somewhere nearby. For television news editors and executives have pushed the news so far in the direction of entertainment and performance that now they find that they have surrendered a large measure of their authority to their performers—even terrorists. These news managers have been lately criticized in certain quarter for not managing the news, or for not managing it better, and blame for the ambiguous morality of terrorist coverage has been placed at their doors, which is certainly a plausible place to put it, though it is certainly not the only place.

On the debit side against the television news editor (as well as against some of his counterparts in print), it must be said that he has asked for some of his present troubles by attempting to conjure up the semblance of an acceptable, positive news policy out of what is essentially a negative habit of editorial non-interference. All too often, the television news editor seems to have surrendered the intrinsic authority of his job in return for serving as little more than a conduit: a largely laissez-faire overseer of a communications pipeline through which passes an essence called "the flow of news" —largely laissez-faire, that is, unless the news flow brings with it matters that might be legally actionable, either by powerful private citizens or by big business or the government, in which case the role of non-interference is quickly dropped and hazard to the proprietor's investment is averted.

On the other hand, Henry Fairlie in a recent issue of *The New Republic*, raising some criticisms of his own against modern news edit-

Michael Arlen is the television critic for New Yorker magazine. His latest book is The View from Highway 1.



Mary Anne Shea



ing, seemed to be calling editors to task for failing to adhere to what he deemed to be oldfashioned virtues of editorial competence: the ability "to see things steadily and see them whole." These are surely most estimable qualities, and doubtless certain editors now and then have possessed them, as have certain popes, generals, and prime ministers. But what of such celebrated old-fashioned editors as Walter Hovey, or James Gordon Bennett, or Geoffrey Dawson, and all their rivals and imitators? Did any of these worthies see anything "steadily" for longer than four seconds, or even halfway "whole"?

No, television news editors did not create the problem, and they cannot be expected to solve it on their own (though it might be courageous of them to try a little harder), for surely the problem is embedded in our larger national ambivalence toward authority. It has become a truism, in fact, that authority and institutions are, nearly everywhere, increasingly held in disfavor. Government, business, the military, the church, the television networks, even "the sports establishment" none of them, so runs the conventional wisdom of great numbers of people - have served their clients well, either now or perhaps through history. God is dead. The "imperial Presidency" has been carted off. Fathers and fatherfigures are in disrepute or on the defensive, and in some cases have even sought to change their sex. Indeed, we now have what often appears to be a son-figure in the White House. No one, apparently, will be a parent.

Television news executives explain the mindless and sometimes mischievous news stories they present on television by saying that they are only seeking to attract the public - secure in the knowledge that, according to the temper of our present era, it is thought to be un-American or even anti-social to do otherwise. Can it be bad or wrong, after all, to devote one's energies no longer to making old-fashioned judgments but instead to schedules, arrangements, deals, and new ways of attracting or entertaining the public? Can it be bad or wrong



for a parent, say, to devote his energies no longer to making old-fashioned judgments but instead to schedules, arrangements, deals, and new ways of attracting or entertaining the children?

But what of this "public"? And what is its actual role in the matter? Consider again this problem of terrorism in the media. For there is much terrorism in the world, and yet only certain kinds of terrorism show up on television. Indeed, what shows up on television might be said to be largely the terrorism of "children," by which one means those dangerous or murderous acts by persons who, rightly or wrongly, feel themselves out of power, disenfranchised, denationalized, or sometimes only misunderstood for example, the act of Damiens.

What does not show up on television, and has been only rarely alluded to (an exception being a Mike Wallace interview of the Shah of Iran on 60 Minutes) is the terrorism of the "fathers," which is probably, all things considered, the greater portion of the world's terror: those acts of rage and brutality by those who wish to stay in power - the acts of Louis XV's torturers.

Quickly someone will say: but this last is not so picturable. The outside of a South American jail is less interesting than the outside of the Hanafi mosque in Washington, and less accessible, and what is going on inside is less dramatic - less of an event. Certainly. That is an operative reason for not covering this more prevalent institutional terrorism but it is not the real reason. The deeper reason is that the audience does not wish such terrorism covered, and does wish the other terrorism covered, and the reasons for that lie probably with such matters as a psychic habit of violence, a need for witnessing retribution, and principally with what seems to be a current ambivalence toward children. Thus, generations ago, in a more authoritarian period, Victorian parents were certain that they adored their children, though strangely arranging to have millions of them murdered in gigantic wars. But we are not so sure what we think of ours. We love them and think tenderly of them; thus, watching a terrorist

drama, there is something that makes us pull for the underdog, the renegade, the commando, at least once one knows that the situation is in hand. But we also hate our children and are afraid of them, as Goliath hated David, for their future is in our death and disappearance. Thus, with a greater, stranger energy, we watch these renegade Davids on the screen masked, bearded, gun-carrying, finally encircled in a mosque or an Olympic village - waiting for death or at least judgment to come home to them.

It is a new game, then, that many of us partake in: a game of playing children at a difficult time, when everyone involved knows differently. Television news editors, for example, pretend that they are not parents, are not judgmental or moralistic, instead are loose, on the lookout for fun and novelty - though all the while they keep their parentcostumes in their office closets and will don them at a moment's notice to protect those complaisantly visible superparents, the publishers or station owners. And the audience pretends much the same kind of thing, though having less occupational interest in the matter, less focus of duty, pretends with less conviction and more ambiguity. Thus, the public alternates between fascination with these terrorist dramas and moralistic criticism of those who put them on the screen. What if others should see into our perplexed, raging souls? What if others knew what we saw on the screen?

But in the end it is probably a passing problem, though some of us may pass before the problem does. At any rate, the notion of nobody being a parent must be a temporary malaise for there is little logic behind it, and less comfort. The fog of ambiguity is very thick these days and nobody, so it appears, can tolerate ambiguity for very long. The only catch is that the chief alternative to ambiguity is certainty - that rival habit of mind which brings with it the baggage of authority and faith in parenthood: in other words, the classic polarity of them and us. In some ways, then, we do not live in so bad a time, for we are not so certain and are making do in the for the Indianapolis Star.

interim. Often, there is a mess upon our television screens, but there is something to be said in favor of a mess as opposed to a single, beautiful, agreed-on presence. Things will change when, sooner or later, as a nation we come to feel easier - less guilty about authority; the authority we spent, as drunks or madmen, on the Pax Americana or in Southeast Asia. When our guiltlessness

toward authority returns, life will return to what is called normal. The institutions will govern once again. The admirals will sail their boats. The outlaws will stay in Sherwood Forest. The editors will edit. And the people will attend parents doubtless once again adoring their children. And we will be where we are, and perhaps dream backward to this tangled, so unsatisfactory place we left.

HIS PROGRA*M*

Indiana Kidnapper Directs Live Newscasts With Shotgun

Can the airwaves be a dangerous weapon?

BY PHILIP J. TROUNSTINE

Mike Ahern, the 38-year-old anchorman at WISH-TV in Indianapolis, was preparing his 11 p.m. newscast when he glanced at the studio monitor and gasped, "What the hell is that?" What he saw was a vivid color picture of a handcuffed man with the barrel of a sawed-off shotgun wired to his neck, its trigger in the hand of another man. Both were surrounded by policemen, reporters, and photographers standing by aghast amid the glare of television lights.

The bizarre scene was a live feed from the station's remote camera at Crestwood Village West Apartments - the site of a 62-hour siege in February by Anthony Kiritsis, who two days earlier had abducted mortgage company executive Richard Hall and imprisoned him in an apartment believed boobytrapped with 100 pounds of dynamite.

A battalion of local and national reporters had descended upon the apartment complex, armed with minicams, tape recorders, pads and pencils, to cover the dramatic kidnapping. Local television stations had gone to great expense to position live transmitters around the clock in anticipation of a break in the

SWAT team assault, or a surrender. When the unexpected ending finally burst forth, no one was ready for it. With all their training in film and tape and editing, some of the most experienced television newsmen in town had only seconds to decide what to do when Kiritsis stepped out of his apartment with a shotgun wired to Hall's neck.

story - be it an explosion, a

"I ran into the control room and asked if we were on live with that and I said, 'For Chrissake, punch it up!' and they did," Ahern recalls. Instantly, thousands who were watching John Wayne make a presentation at the CBS People's Choice Awards found themselves thrust into a horrifying moment of

The reactions at the other local network affiliates were similar at first. At NBC's WRTV-TV. producer Ray Bredemann had been expecting Kiritsis to surrender. That was the gist of off-the-record statements Mayor William Hudnut had just made to reporters. As a condition of surrender, the mayor had said. Kiritsis wanted live coverage of a statement to the press. Because it was the hottest news story in town and because they wanted to help save Hall's life, local broadcasters were prepared to go live. Suddenly viewers of NBC's Seventh Avenue were sitting before a macabre microwave

Philip J. Trounstine is a reporter



Jim Young



Anthony Kiritsis (right): He held Richard Hall and the Indianapolis media at gunpoint. "I'm a goddamn national hero."

broadcast.

At WTHR-TV, executive news producer Bill LaPlante and news director Bill Dean broke into ABC's The Streets of San Francisco, announced a special report, and began to broadcast live.

But instead of surrendering, Kiritsis, clutching the shotgun, delivered a 25-minute diatribe, riddled with obscenities. The "cocksuckers" had undermined his attempts to package a land deal. The "motherfuckers" held a shotgun in his ear for years. "I'm a goddamn national hero," he proclaimed. It was one of the most incredible spectacles ever played out on live television. At any moment, it seemed, by intention or by accident, Hall's head could be splattered.

WRTV and WTHR each recorded and broadcast the action with hand-held microwave equipment while WISH used a studio camera linked to an Indiana Bell Telephone microwave transmitter for which CBS had picked up the tab. The fourth local station — independent WTTV-TV — shot film. News director Jim Lockwood says he would have gone live if he had

had the equipment but, like WISH, his station hasn't yet purchased the technology and couldn't afford a \$1,700 phone company hookup.

WRTV and WISH broadcast the entire ordeal. WTHR bailed out after about ten minutes, with anchorman Paul Udell telling viewers, "Enough is enough."

"We had a man here who was holding live television hostage as well as he was holding Mr. Hall hostage," says WTHR's LaPlante. "He was controlling us, manipulating us, and we didn't want to be a party to that. We elected to reassert control of the airwaves."

According to news director Dean, "It seemed that he [Kiritsis] was approaching the point where he could in fact pull the trigger. We thought we were at a point where we were about to witness a live execution on television and from our standpoint, that was intolerable."

WISH's Ahern recalls his first reaction: "It's an ongoing, happening news story that we've been covering for three days and we don't want to leave the audience hanging at the moment of truth." Yet in a phone call to news director Lee Giles, minutes after live coverage began, Ahern voiced second thoughts and suggested dropping out because "we were being outrageously manipulated by this guy." Giles, who had not been watching, agreed.

Ahern announced that WISH was going back to network programming, but then, as the camera zoomed in on Kiritsis' face, the anchorman changed his mind and told his engineers to stay with it. "I will confess to any ambivalent feelings a person will have in a situation like that, because I had every one of them," he says.

"I just thought, 'We can't pull out of a story like this. Maybe we'll get our heads chopped off later for carrying it, but this is a live, dramatic piece of television reality,'" he recalls.

If a broadcaster has live capability and doesn't use it at such a moment in a major story, Ahern believes, he is failing to cover that story. "The whole reason for our being in television journalism is live pictures of news events — otherwise, turn on your radio or read your newspaper."

WTHR's news director Bill

Dean disagrees. "We have the technology but we are masters of that technology," says Dean. "The equipment doesn't control our lives. We as broadcasters, as human beings with a brain, make the decision on how that technology is to be used to serve the public.

"I don't think there's any separation between good news judgment and good broadcast judgment. I'm not a dumb relay station or a mirror, instantly reflecting everything that comes

in to me.

WRTV, though it covered the entire event live, took a position somewhere in between. Producer Bredemann says his decision was "half-right." And news director Bob Gamble believes his station was right to stay with the story, but adds, "We should have controlled it more than we did. The event controlled us. After five or ten minutes. I would have decided to pull out and then go back periodically and keep taping throughout. I wouldn't have let the thing run on uninterrupted the way it did."

Television was asked to cover the Kiritsis "press conference" more vividly than were the newspapers. If Kiritsis had shot Hall—and he had threatened to do just that throughout the siege—two or perhaps three stations would have carried it live. Clearly it would have been horrible. Even the Lee Harvey Oswald and Robert Kennedy assassinations would not compare to a decapitation by shotgun with color cameras at close range.

Few newspaper editors would have published the gory details or photos needed to reflect the horror of such a moment. In fact, the next day's newspaper reports deleted the most objectionable obscenities that earlier were broadcast into thousands of homes. All three stations report most of the complaints they received concerned Kiritsis' language. Although every viewer's set is equipped with an On/Off switch, even those who were offended apparently found it impossible to turn off the tube.

Along with the instantaneous decision of whether to stay on the air, other serious questions were raised by the Indianapolis incident. Was the story worthy of the detailed coverage it received? How much should be broadcast that might endanger the hostage if the kidnapper hears about it? Should newsmen become involved in negotiations? (Radio Station WIBC's Fred Heckman acted as an intermediary, broadcasting many of his phone calls to Kiritsis.) Should an abductor be given live coverage if he demands it as a condition of surrender?

The microwave technology of live television doesn't allow for calm, reasoned decision-making. WISH's Mike Ahern offered this observation: "People who are sitting back and saying, 'We did the right thing,' better think about the fact that it's going to happen again and again in the future. Are we ready to handle that? I don't know. But we'd better decide and if we're not, then get rid of that equipment — it's a dangerous weapon."

HIJACKING THE 1ST AMENDMENT

The Day The Court Ordered Prior Restraint

Terrorists force banning of film.

BY RANDY I. BELLOWS

The clerk of the U.S. District Court calls the case in a squeaky voice, trembling at the religious majesty of it all: United States v. Mohammad, Messenger of God. Manifest destiny versus the Muslims.

The litigators approach the bench, nervous and testy. On the left, fingering a pile of hastily drawn-up papers, is the U.S. attorney, out to save the lives of one or 134 hostages. On the right, are three attorneys from United Artists Theaters, out to save the First Amendment from no less than divine massacre.

The U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia is in emergency session. Just hours before, a group of Hanafi Muslims had captured three buildings in downtown Washington. The city was under siege.

For two hours, the lawyers argue their positions. The court recesses. The judge takes a quick look at that most famous of Supreme Court opinions on the press—the Pentagon Papers case. He then issues his opinion from the bench. For the first time in modern American history, prior restraint because of political terrorism is ordered. Mohammad,

Messenger of God is banned in America.

That this scenario was never actually played out is a product of singular circumstance. When United Artists was faced with a demand by the Hanafi Muslims to stop showing their film of Mohammad's life, they said yes. But what if United Artists had said no?

After all, it had been done before. When the Symbionese Liberation Army had demanded that newspapers print its demands verbatim, the Oakland Tribune responded with a resounding "no," declaring: "Now is the time to protect our country's freedoms, not tomorrow; for if not now, there will be no free tomorrows."

The Oakland Tribune refused and got away with it—it did not have to bear a dead Patty Hearst on its conscience. Nor did some zealous prosecutor haul it into court and demand that the newspaper publish the words of the SLA in order to save lives.

But what happens when terrorists make demands, the press refuses, and hostages die? Will courts sit back and watch the slaughter? Or will they say: "I hereby order you, under penalty of contempt, to print this story and kill that one"?

If they read the case of The New

York Times v. United States - the Pentagon Papers case - they will know what to do. For if great cases make bad law, as Oliver Wendell Holmes suggested, the Pentagon Papers was a very great case indeed. It gave The New York Times and The Washington Post what they pleaded for - the right to publish the archives of the Vietnam War. Yet in doing so, it carved a hole in the First Amendment so wide and so deep that any desperado with the sense to take along a couple of hostages can walk right through it.

That prior restraint did not make an entrance during the Pentagon Papers case is simply because the Supreme Court could not find endangered lives that would surely be lost upon publication. But endangered lives are the essence of terrorism. Without it, there just wouldn't be terror. And with it there will be prior restraint.

The press gets loudly criticized for catering to terrorists, for playing out their macabre dramas on the evening tube, for encouraging people who, enormously impressed by the vigor with which they are being consumed, do the only proper thing: they grant encores. And for all this free publicity what does the press get in return? Prior restraint.

The impact of the media on the terrorist is no doubt substantial. But the impact of the terrorist on the media could leave the American press permanently scarred. And it will all happen so suddenly and so reasonably. Consider the following scenario.

The Hanafi Muslims made three demands. Of the three, it was quite clear that one would be impossible to fulfill (turning over the convicted murderers of the family of Hanafi Muslim leader Hamaas Abdul Khaalis). The other two would be easier to meet: the return of a \$750 contempt-of-court fine against Khaalis and the banishment from America of Mohammad, Messenger of God, a \$17-million production premiering that same day.

To no one's surprise, the



Randy I. Bellows is a Harvard law student.

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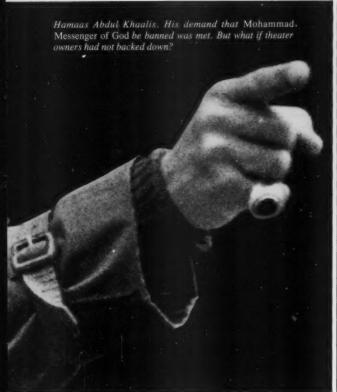
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contempt-of-court citation was rescinded. But United Artists adamantly refused to suspend the showing of the feature-length movie. They issued a blistering press release: "We have the most profound concern for the safety of the hostages. Yet we doubt if the First Amendment and freedom of the press can survive in America if it is to be held hostage by any group irrational enough to pick up a gun and threaten to fire. Terrorism breeds terrorism. It has got to end somewhere and the place to begin is right here and right now. Mohammad, Messenger of God will continue to play in American theaters as a symbol to the world and to terrorists everywhere that America will not give up its freedom."

Khaalis was told immediately of the refusal. He announced that for every showing of the film after 8 p.m., one hostage would die.

It was now 4:30. The U.S. attorney did not for a moment doubt what he'd have to do. At 4:45 he called United Artists and notified

them he was about to file a motion for a temporary injunction to prohibit United Artists from continuing to exhibit the film.

From the very moment he suspected a motion might be filed, Judge Hiram Dignity knew the case would turn on the Pentagon Papers. What a strange decision, he thought, not really a decision at all. Nine justices had spoken their minds in nine separate opinions. If anything could be divined from it at all, it was the confused state of the seldom-exercised law of prior restraint.

He remembered poring over the opinions (six for publication, three against) on June 30, 1971, the day the court lifted the injunctions preventing *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* from publishing the papers.

One thing had struck him: at least a majority of the justices recognized that in certain peculiar circumstances there was, indeed, the right to order prior restraint. The First Amendment was not an absolute shield, the assertions of



Justices Black and Douglas to the contrary. Black had declared, in his opinion, his oft-stated belief that the First Amendment was absolute: "Both the history and language of the First Amendment support the view that the press must be left free to publish news, whatever the source, without censorship, injunctions or prior restraint."

Douglas was equally without sympathy for the pleas of the government, reciting the First Amendment, then bluntly declaring: "That leaves, in my view, no room for governmental restraint on the press."

But though the two were in the majority in this opinion, their absolutist concept of the First Amendment—that "no law means no law"—was, like so many times in the past, a minority opinion. The majority held that in the prior restraint area, no law means some law.

But when? When the government had sustained its "very heavy burden," Justice White declared. And that burden, according to this majority group of opinions, consisted of three elements:

• The government must show that publication will result in "irreparable damage to our Nation or its people" (Justice Stewart), through a specific event which is "kindred to imperiling the safety of a transport already at sea" (Justice Brennan).

• There must be "nexus"— Justice Stewart described it as a "direct, immediate" link between the feared event and publication. The feared event must, in some sense, impinge on national security.

Three of the justices, in dissent, wanted to go much further and declared that prior restraint ought to be approved any time the head of an executive agency made a good-faith declaration that publication would "irreparably impair the national security..." In fact, they were willing to grant a temporary injunction in order to give the government time to make that claim - so that there might be the "orderly presentation of evidence from both sides." After all, noted Justice Blackmun, the Pentagon Papers were three years old anyway and The New York Times had sat on them for three months while preparing to publish.

But this was the court's most conservative wing talking and only three of the justices agreed on this scheme of government-take-all. A clear majority of the court did seem to agree that prior restraint would be acceptable in the narrower sense: where it was proven that publication would result in some specific damage of a grave nature to the nation's security.

Judge Dignity thought of the case he was about to hear. It was obvious that nexus wouldn't be any problem. The Hanafi Muslims had made it quite clear that if the movie continued to play, hostages would die. Dignity had no reason to doubt their sincerity; the body of Maurice Williams, a young reporter killed in the takeover of the District Building, confirmed that opinion.



Nor did the judge think there would be any problem showing that the death of hostages was the kind of grave and irrevocable event the court was looking for. Several times during the oral argument of the Pentagon Papers case, he remembered, Justice Stewart had plaintively asked counsel for the newspapers whether some prior restraint was justifiable. "Let us assume," he asked The New York Times attorney Alexander Bickel, "that when the members of the court go back and open up this sealed record we find something there that absolutely convinces us that its disclosure would result in the sentencing to death of 100 young men whose only offense had been that they were 19 years old and had low draft numbers. What should we do?"

Bickel didn't answer the question directly, not wanting to give anything away, but questions like Stewart's made it clear that the death of even a few soldiers might justify prior restraint. Surely, Judge Dignity thought, where the lives of 134 hostages were involved, the consequences were just as grave.

He didn't have time to muse on national security-the requirement which troubled him the most. It was 5:30 p.m. The court was in session.

The U.S. attorney argued first. He had found his precedent. He knew it was shaky: the Pentagon Papers case had never been used to justify prior restraint. Indeed, in that case, prior restraint had been denied. "Your Honor," he said, "I'd like to state at the outset that there is a fundamental distinction between that case and the one we present today. We have the facts on our side. We didn't six years ago.

"In the Pentagon Papers case, the government was unable to show the court a specific life that would be lost by publication. The government talked of the impairment of Vietnam negotiations, but it was not able to focus on a specific, catastrophic event that would occur. Here we've got no such problem. Every single one of those 134 lives may be lost if that movie continues to play."

The prosecutor then turned to the issue of national security.

"Entirely too much attention," he said, "has been focused on what has come to be known as the troop ship exception—the notion that the only time prior restraint can be granted is in a time of war, when a newspaper threatens to print information like the sailing date of a troop ship. But national security must also include that extraordinary situation when the nation's capital is under siege by a band of individuals who threaten to create an international incident. Wouldn't it be a strange twist indeed if soldiers overseas-the protectors of our society-were entitled to protection, but innocent hostages at home - the protected of society - were not.

"Finally," the prosecutor concluded, "the government contends that whether or not the court can find a national security element in this case it need not do so. The national security element should be abandoned as a requirement for prior restraint. If the goal is to save lives, why should it matter whether those people dress in a uniform or are threatened by terrorists?"

One of the United Artists attorneys was already at the lectern. "I will not devote my limited time," he said, "to the questions the U.S. attorney has so eloquently raised. Instead, I would like to talk to you about one thing: the public interest. Granting prior restraint will be giving the green light to terrorists to destroy the press of this country. They will demand the printing of whole books. They will demand that reporters only cover their criminal conduct in a certain manner, perhaps even dictating the words. They will demand that headlines be changed, or pictures printed, or editorials written in a certain way. All the Hanafi Muslims ask is that one movie not be shown. But is there any doubt that the next terrorist will demand more?

"Once the people of the United States travel down this road of prior restraint, there is no turning back. Is there ever a place where a court could choose that, yes, a hostage's life should be spared if it will only cost one suppressed movie, but not if it would cost two suppressed editorials? When the Supreme Court issued the Pentagon Papers decision, it meant

only to protect soldiers in a time | pers, can not be applied in a of war. It surely never imagined its words would be perverted to fulfill the whims of terrorists. The time to draw a line is right here, today, before prior restraint begins. Terrorism must be stopped, not nurtured."

The argument was over. The judge said he would hand down a decision from the bench after a short recess.

In less than a half-hour, Dignity returned and began reading his decision: "Motion for a temporary injunction is granted. I am aware that there are those who will say that I have acted under the demands of emergency, and that my opinion is founded neither on the facts nor the law. Yet if it is error I am going to commit, at least I will err on the side of life.

"I hold that the doctrine of prior restraint, as discussed in the case involving the Pentagon Pa-

mechanistic fashion. I will not abandon the requirement that the national security be involved. It is not necessary in this case. National security, as counsel for the government contends, must be broadly construed and, under that construction, the terrorism presently plaguing Washington clearly qualifies. It is my further belief that if prior restraint is not granted, the hostages will die. This is precisely the situation in which prior restraint should be invoked.

"I realize," concluded the judge, "that I may be setting a dangerous precedent and that in some isolated cases, the press will be one among the many victims of terrorism. But this is an uncertain threat. I cannot sacrifice the lives of 134 hostages - or even one human being-to such uncertainty. The motion is granted."

CRISIS COP RAPS MEDIA

Hostage Squad's Frank Bolz Asks Press To Police Itself

Are cops and reporters on the same side?

The walls of his tiny office in New York City's new police headquarters are crowded with pictures and patches from police departments around the world-Stadtpolizei Munich, Cook County, Israel, Tucson. His desk is a mess: unfinished reports, newspaper clippings, and champagne corks clutter the surface. A clock on the wall is tilted at a 45degree angle, a police radio fills the room with law-and-order muzak, and a black telephone with a red receiver sits on the corner of his desk, poised to ring with news of the latest crisis.

The phone and the office belong to Lieutenant Frank Bolz. head of the New York City Police Department's Hostage Negotiating Squad. Since the squad was formed in January 1973, Bolz has been involved in some 80 incidents - "jobs" as he calls them-in which hostages have been taken. His cheerful manner,

his honest-cop aura, and his belief that patience pays off have earned him an impressive record: no deaths. As a result, he has been besieged by requests from all over the country to help set up similar programs. Few people have had as much first-hand experience dealing with terrorist incidents as Frank Bolz.

Despite his recent notoriety, Bolz runs his hostage negotiating operation out of his back pocket. He wears a pistol on his hip, a pair of handcuffs on his belt, and keeps a bullhorn, a navy blue baseball cap, and three packed suitcases in his office ready to go.

Senior Editor Robert Friedman recently interviewed Bolz about the media's role in covering hostage incidents.

Do you think it makes any difference what the media does in terrorist situations?

Absolutely. The media can have a tremendous effect on the



outcome. Our hostage team has been trained to recognize the importance of keeping the media informed of what is going on. We learned this firsthand in January 1973, during the siege of John and Al's sporting goods store in Brooklyn, where the media was not handled well. They did a lot of things on their own. Someone from one of the news radio stations took a street index guide and went down all the various telephone numbers of the apartments across from John and Al's. They happened to get somebody who gave a live interview the very moment a police sergeant was crawling down the sidewalk trying to throw a bullhorn at the front door. A blow-by-blow description of this was going over the air live. Fortunately, the perpetrators inside did not have the radio on at that time.

Another guy actually lit up his big arc lamps and silhouetted all our sniper teams.

How can you prevent that?

We cannot prevent it. We can only educate the media as to the problems and hope they will acknowledge that when they do something like that, they are risking the lives of police and hostages. In New Rochelle, [where Fred Cowan killed five people February 14], one of the news radio stations up there was saying, "The police are crawling across the rooftops with shotguns. They have rifles. The sun is beating down into their eyes." Now if the perpetrator had been listening to that radio station, he would have had a blow-by-blow description of what the police maneuvers were.

So there you have an incident four years later and nothing has changed.

That was a New Rochelle operation. We were only there in an advisory capacity. But we will never get 100 per cent compliance because we can't reach out to every newsman. One of the big problems that we have with the media is the "scoop." If one guy happens to make a phone call to a perpetrator and gets an interview, all of the others feel "We've been scooped by station WWWW! We'd better get in there." And that's the wrong attitude. We would much prefer if the media

could just sit back and say, "Wait a minute, this is exactly what this guy wants. Are we part of the theater involved in this?" Is the media going to be part of the problem or is it going to be reporting what is taking place?

You can explain all you want what the media should do, but when the actual moment comes. they're out there, tripping over each other to get the story.

That's true. But look at World

you believe the police?" I think | she was totally off base.

A similar situation took place in Calgary, Alberta, in March 1976. Two men who were on parole committed a holdup and, while attempting to escape, there was a gunfight. They shot a police sergeant and took three people hostage. Negotiations went on for quite a number of hours, and eventually a deal was struck for the release of all the hostages in

the media.

Do you personally talk to people in the media?

We have invited all the media to attend our hostage training program. The problem is there's attrition. New people come and are not completely aware. Initially, the excitement of the jobgetting the story - sometimes overwhelms their good judgment and they plunge right in.

We have had to take steps with the telephone company, whereby when the hostage situation goes down we just pull out the phones. Prior to that, the media could get in there and do things that would be detrimental to the hostages. For example, the hostages at Bankers Trust on Sixth Avenue in Greenwich Village [October 6, 1975] were about to be released when someone from the media called in. The perpetrator said to the hostages, "You guys can go out, I want to talk to this guy from the press." The hostages were afraid they'd be shot on their way out, so they all stayed. He talked on the phone to the guy for three hours and broke the thought pattern. This is one of the problems the media must realize. You don't know what pattern the police have established with the perpetrator, what path we're trying to bring him down. Just calling in gives a thought interruption, and thought interruption is sometimes just enough to sway him away from the way we want him to go.

So what exactly do you tell the press?

Please take what we give you until after the fact.

But why should the media trust your judgment in these situations?

They can question our judgment, but they shouldn't end run us. About a year and a half ago in the Bronx, we brought in a member of the media, a pool reporter, and stood him right behind the negotiator. He was able to stand there for half an hour and listen to everything that was going on. There's nothing secret to what we do.

Are there incidents where the media have been helpful?

Absolutely. There are times when the media in their research will come up with intelligence about the people involved in this



Frank Bolz: Brings 'em back alive.

War II. The media policed themselves, they were given guidelines, they were told, "This is the problem. Are you going to be part of the problem or part of the solution?"

In Washington D.C., during the Muslim siege, a commentator from a talk show called up one of the Muslims and said "How can the teeth to law enforcement by

exchange for a certain number of doses of methadone. Someone from the media called the perpetrators directly and said, "Don't be stupid. If you give up all of your hostages you'll have nothing to deal with." He actually advised them not to give up the hostages.

That was a tremendous kick in



which will build up the psychological profile of the person we're dealing with. There is a rapport in New York because we're used to dealing with so many people from the media.

But there are many smaller police departments that are unable to cope when 35 or 40 members of the media are thrust upon them. That happened in New Rochelle. It was an overwhelming situation. There was a lack of understanding because there was a lack of experience in dealing with so many people. The police department took an awful scolding from the media. They called them inept. I think the media felt hurt and that's why they snapped back at the cops.

What happens when the terrorist wants media attention or wants someone in the media to negotiate?

He may want Joe Blow because he feels that if Joe Blow is there the cop is not going to blow him away. Four years back you had the case with Chris Borgen of CBS. He went up to 135th Street and Fifth Ave. where two guys held 42 people hostage in a bank. They requested Chris Borgen because they felt that Chris would look out for their safety. He went into the bank before the negotiating team was there. Today we would not have permitted him to go in. We would permit him to be seen by the perpetrator, so he is aware he is at the scene. But we will not let

him in.

The same thing happened with ABC's John Johnson this year. We told him we'd meet him on the corner of 109th and Madison. When we got there, Johnson wasn't there. We found out later that Johnson had gone right to the scene. He was drawn, almost like a magnet, to the door and the next thing you know he was inside. After about one and a half hours listening to the perpetrator, Johnson realized he was no longer a mediator or negotiator - he was a hostage. We had to get him out.

Have you talked to him since then? Does he regret what he did?

Oh yeah. He'll never do it

gram. It's like a cop wearing a bulletproof vest. He thinks he's superman. He doesn't realize his vulnerability. He can get shot in the leg and bleed to death in three minutes. Many times the news media people seem to feel that the cloak of the media is going to protect them. But when you're dealing with a violent psycho, you're just what he wants. You cannot negotiate from inside. If you're inside you're out of the ballgame. It's like going into tear gas without a mask.

What about the situation where the guy just wants attention?

Ninety per cent of the time these things are attention-getting again. He's a believer in the pro- devices. These are the losers, the

TV NEWSMEN SPLIT ON AIR TIME FOR TERRORISTS

In the wake of the Kiritsis and Hanafi terrorist incidents, MORE queried television newsmen around the country to determine if individual stations are drafting ethical codes to guide their news coverage. The answer seems to be "No." But those interviewed expressed some pointed, and often contradictory, opin-

Jim Warren, Reporter, KPHO-TV, Phoenix.

"The one basic guideline is that the media work closely with the authorities. No one tries to circumvent what the authorities want. We pretty much accede to what the authorities want."

Lou Rothbart, News Director, KTLA-TV, Los Angeles.

"If the media doesn't play an adversary role, the police might take justice further than they should. When we're covering a hostage story, police violence is not our first concern at the height of it, but it is one of the other elements. When the police say, 'We don't want you guys around,' my first thought is 'What are they going to be doing in there?"

Gene Strul, News Director, WCKT-TV, Miami.

"I'm not awed by the police. Cops have made lots of wrong decisions. Judges and cops are no more qualified to make decisions as to what we should cover than any other human being. We should reserve the right to make our own decisions."

Phil Nye, News Director, WXYZ-TV, Detroit.

"We will definitely send our cameras to a hostage or terrorist situation. During the 1967 riots in Detroit, the city asked radio and TV stations to suppress their coverage, and everyone went along with it. That was a terrible mistake.'

Wayne Vriesman, News Director, WGN-TV, Chicago.

"I will never black out a story. That would lead the public to think that we will black out other major stories. I would draw the line, though, at passing on police plans to a terrorist, but I can't say flat out that I would follow police requests."

Virgil Dominic, News Director, WJW-TV, Cleveland.

"Our primary concern is to cooperate fully with the cops. We used to cover terrorists with live cameras, but we've since changed our policy. Live coverage encourages the taking of hostages. Competition has replaced judgment in covering these stories and we are starting to lose control to the terrorists."

Fred Cowley, Managing Editor, KOOL-TV, Phoenix, Arizona.

"I'm sure grandstanding occurs. In some cases coverage serves as a steam valve. Perhaps it reduces some of the terrorist's hostility."

Dave McCormick, News Director, WKYC-TV, Cleveland.

"'Control' is the key word in any discussion of this kind. We cannot let the subject control the coverage. Once a station loses control over what is on the air, the station ceases to be responsible."

Bob Ferrante, News Director, WGBH-TV, Boston.

"Coverage of terrorists is done to titillate the audience. It's yellow journalism on television. The news departments justify the coverage by saying that 'news is news,' and the sales department is thrilled to death."

Tom Becherer, News Director, WWJ-TV, Detroit.

"There is a difference, I think, between the public's right to know, and the public's right to know everything.'

Dr. George Gerbner, dean and professor at the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

"The most pervasive effect of broadcast violence is not the imitation of violence, but the spreading of intimidation, of the fear of victimization. Terror can only succeed if the act is conveyed to the audience whose behavior the terrorists are seeking to influence. The media, in conveying the terror, are cooperating. This makes them accomplices. If terror were not conveyed by the media, this fear of victimization would not be so pervasive. The press is directly responsible."

Garry Ritchie, News Director, WEWS-TV, Cleveland.

"Kooks will find a way of being anti-social no matter what you do. I don't believe that one hostage incident begets another. These things are going to occur whether or not there are TV cameras around to cover them."



inadequate personalities. He'll strive to get all this attention: "Look at me, I'm important. I can stop everything. I can be on the 6:00 news."

But do you think the media should go along in situations like that?

No. They should be there and they have to report it. If we feel that we can bring about the release of all the hostages with the promise of a TV interview—give it to them. But after the fact, after he releases everybody.

What about the case in Indianapolis where you had a guy with a shotgun saying, "Put your cameras on me or I'll shoot." What do you do in that situation if you're the network?

You listen to what the police have to say. I would have said no.

Even though the guy's sitting there with a gun?

They've pointed guns at me.

ney've pointed guns at other hostages. You have to bargain for everything. It's not a giveaway program. It's negotiating. On the other hand, if you don't cover what they're doing — suppose you have a news blackout — they're going to do something so spectacular that you're going to have to cover them. And what's the most spectacular thing you can do? Take a head off and throw it out the window. So cover them.

What's the big deal? So you would never order a news blackout?

There are no circumstances that I can see at this point where we would order a blackout. There might be a temporary blackout as we do in a kidnapping job where we say, "Don't put anything out because if you do they'll know that this has taken place." But no total news blackout.

The New York Post runs the

They've pointed guns at other hostages. You have to bargain for everything. It's not a giveaway Washington...

Very bad. Very bad for two reasons. What did it do to the families of the hostages who were waiting? Terrible. Even if it happened do you have to take the bloody end of the stump of the head and rub it in their faces? That was in very poor taste.

But does that kind of coverage actually hurt the course of negotiations?

I think so because the anxiety that the hostages and the perpetrators feel is felt by the police. Cops are under pressure whether you like to believe it or not. What the perpetrator feels, the negotiator feels. That kind of journalism would tend to inflame. Maybe they never had that idea. Now maybe you've given them that idea.

But you don't feel that it's a

hopeless task dealing with the media?

Not at all. On each job the police learn more about what's going on. On each job the media learns more. There's always the individual in the media who feels he's going to get the Nobel Peace Prize, is going to be commended for saving a life. But sometimes you have to think, "Am I risking the lives of others in order to save one?"

Basically, we both have the same job—to serve the public. You're there to inform the public and we're there to protect the public. I think we're working side by side. Sometimes we clash headon, but that's usually individual personalities.

Since we set up the program four and a half years ago, we haven't lost a cop, haven't lost a hostage, haven't lost a perpetrator.
Or a newsman.

CBS RULES ON TERRORIST COVERAGE

The following guidelines on coverage of terrorists were issued by CBS News President Richard S. Salant on April 7, 1977, in the wake of the Hanafi Muslim incident in Washington D.C. CBS is the only network to have formulated a written policy.

Because the facts and circumstances of each case vary, there can be no specific self-executing rules for the handling of terrorist/hostage stories. CBS News will continue to apply the normal tests of news judgment and if, as so often they are, these stories are newsworthy, we must continue to give them coverage despite the dangers of "contagion." The disadvantages of suppression are, among [other] things, (1) adversely affecting our credibility ("What else are the news people keeping from us?"); (2) giving free rein to sensationalized and erroneous word of mouth rumors; and (3) distorting our news judgments for some extraneous judgmental purpose. These disadvantages compel us to continue to provide coverage.

Nevertheless, in providing for such coverage there must be thoughtful, conscientious care and restraint. Obviously, the story should not be sensationalized beyond the actual fact of its being sensational. We should exercise particular care in how we treat the terrorist/kidnapper.

More specifically:

- (1) An essential component of the story is the demands of the terrorist/kidnapper and we must report those demands. But we should avoid providing an excessive platform for the terrorist/kidnapper. Thus, unless such demands are succinctly stated and free of rhetoric and propaganda, it may be better to paraphrase the demands instead of presenting them directly through the voice or picture of the terrorist/kidnapper.
- (2) Except in the most compelling circumstances, and then only with the approval of the President of CBS News, or in his absence, the Senior Vice President of News, there should be no live

- coverage of the terrorist/kidnapper since we may fall into the trap of providing an unedited platform for him. (This does not limit live on-the-spot reporting by CBS News reporters, but care should be exercised to assure restraint and context.)
- (3) News personnel should be mindful of the probable need by the authorities who are dealing with the terrorist for communication by telephone and hence should endeavor to ascertain, wherever feasible, whether our own use of such lines would be likely to interfere with the authorities' communications.
- (4) Responsible CBS News representatives should endeavor to contact experts dealing with the hostage situation to determine whether they have any guidance on such questions as phraseology to be avoided, what kinds of questions or reports might tend to exacerbate the situation, etc. Any such recommendations by established authorities on the scene should be carefully considered as guidance (but not as instruction) by CBS News personnel.
- (5) Local authorities should also be given the name or names of CBS personnel whom they can contact should they need further guidance or wish to deal with such delicate questions as a newsman's call to the terrorists or other matters which might interfere with authorities dealing with the terrorists.
- (6) Guidelines affecting our coverage of civil disturbances are also applicable here, especially those which relate to avoiding the use of inflammatory catchwords or phrases, the reporting of rumors, etc. As in the case of policy dealing with civil disturbances, in dealing with a hostage story reporters should obey all police instructions but report immediately to their superiors any such instructions that seem to be intended to manage or suppress the news.
- (7) Coverage of this kind of story should be in such overall balance as to length, that it does not unduly crowd out other important news of the hour/day.

THE MAKING OF A GODFATHER

Leaked Federal Intelligence Report Prompts Press Promotion Of Galante As New Mafia Don

Was the media taken in by a government plan?

BY THOMAS PLATE

"Gathering Mafia intelligence," says *Time* magazine's John Tompkins in a May 16 cover story, "is something like covering mainland China from Hong Kong: you get a hazy picture constructed from bits and pieces of information that may or may not be true." A reason for caution if ever there was one.

Nevertheless, in the past few months, the media — Time included — has painted some very vivid pictures of the Mafia's internal goings-on. And full-front in the middle of those verbal portraits is Carmine Galante, 67, kingpin of the Bonnano crime family and certain successor to superdon Carlo Gambino as capo di tutti capi, boss of all bosses. Or so says the media.

The succession may not be swift and it may not be smooth, but Galante is the man because he's "mean," "violent," "vicious," "physically active and robust," "completely ruthless," "commands fear and respect," and is "slowly working to reverse the policies of Carlo Gambino." As for the Mafia itself, it remains one of the most unchanging institutions in America—godfatherly hands are still being kissed, blood oaths uttered, macabre kisses blown, and concrete overshoes cast.

Indeed, on the basis of Paul Meskil's February 28 cover story in New York magazine, Lucinda Franks' Sunday front-pager in the February 20 New York Times, the recent Time cover, and a series of "investigative" articles in the Daily News and the Post, the Mafia seems to be the same old kinky organization made lovable by Mario Puzo. And Carmine Galante is certain to become the most powerful Italian after the Pope.

The New York cover story got the unequivocal title "Meet the New Godfather." The Times was almost equally certain: "An Obscure Gangster Is Emerging as the Mafia Chieftain in New York." Both studies came out within 24 hours of each other. (Not exactly by plan, but not by chance either. The Times management, Franks' story in hand, got wind that New York was going with a Galante cover. It pulled its Franks out of the Sunday magazine lineup and ran it on page one of the Sunday news section. The next day, the New York cover appeared. What embarrassment!) Both stories proceeded on the unexamined assumption that the Mafia is essentially an Italo-American Banana Republic that cannot function without a top banana.

The stunning buildup of one hood among many was not, however, a total surprise. While organized crime figures in New York were wondering whether the *Times* and *New York* knew something they didn't, higher-ups in the Justice Department, the White House, and most of all in the Drug Enforcement Administration, knew the epistemology of both works of journalism. The Galante promotional ef-

fort was largely the work of a government agency.

The parturition of the Galante-for-Godfather story took place from the womb of the New York office of the Drug Enforcement Administration late last year. DEA's Unified Intelligence Division (U.I.D.) had been secretly put on a White House hit list after President Carter and Attorney General Bell had ordered a private review of the troubled drug agency. Unified Intelligence stuck out like a cop at Umberto's Clam House. Nothing more than a collection agency for information from other law enforcement authorities, Unified Intelligence seemed, to the management-minded Carter people, like mere window dressing for an image-conscious agency that was more image than substance.

But U.I.D., headed by former New York Police Department commander Arthur Grubert, was tipped off about the Attorney General's intention and moved into action. On December 8, 1976, U.I.D. presented an impressive, classified, 59-page report that set into motion the manufacture of the Mafia story of the year. Titled "Major Organized Crime Report Concerning Carmine Galante," the report was prepared over the signature of Special Agent Michael Cunniff. Though the material seemed to draw largely from N.Y.P.D. files, the document gave every appearance that DEA, not to mention U.I.D., was really on the ball. In one fascinating anecdote after another, in extensive lists of "trafficking groups" and "investigative leads," the report touted Carmine Galante, convicted narcotics trafficker, as the next national godfather.

Page six of the report tells it all: "Galante is allegedly not the *de facto* head of the Bonnano La Cosa Nostra family and, according to information from underworld sources, he is a strong candidate for the post of *capo di tutti capi*." Actually, the federal document was more cautious and sophisticated than the journalism that came to be based on it. It warned that the Galante candidacy faced strong opposition from the Gambino family ("...many Gambino family members believe that Galante is only a tool for Joe Bonnano"), and thoughtfully and consciously contradicted itself on several key points, most notably in its assertion that the success of Galante's candidacy would bring La Cosa Nostra *back* into narcotics ("... on the other hand, even the Gambino family had its hand in heroin trafficking after the Gambino mandate. For example, in 1971...").

But, taken as a whole, the document was nothing if not clever promotional literature for Galante, on whom DEA possessed a fact packet of surveillance information, informant reports, and wiretap transcripts—the kind of data DEA has been able to accumulate on the other Mafia higher-ups at Galante's level. In due course, anxious to flex its muscle, U.I.D. leaked the report.

One copy, according to my sources, went to the *Times*, which farmed it out to Lucinda Franks, a former staffer turned freelancer. A second was handed to Paul Meskil, a crime writer of flair with the *Daily News*. Meskil offered *New York* a full-blown godfather story

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after the News ran a few news stories.

"You can't convince me that there's anything of consequence in either of these stories that's not in that report," says one well-known New York crime reporter, who also obtained a copy of the report but was wary about using it. Indeed, both stories parrot the DEA report. Galante is the one, they say, and he'll bring the Mafia back into narcotics (as if it were ever really out).

The stories differ only in minor ways. Lucinda Franks' is laden with obvious pipes from federal and city agents and displays a Tin Pan Alley screenwriter's touch: "If you went to Balducci's in Greenwich Village, you might well see Carmine Galante ... pick over artichokes and tomatoes ... or near the L&T Cleaners at 245 Elizabeth Street, where he reportedly operates ... You might think you were going back 100 years, to the mountain villages of Italy." For his part, Meskil inadvertently raises doubts about the certainty of the Galante bandwagon, at one point writing that Galante "has appointed himself board chairman," and then, in the next paragraph, asserting that "the Commission ... will soon name him capo di tutti capi." Which is it? Who needs whom?

Experienced crime reporters have learned—some the hard way—that a lot of the information that comes out of the DEA, as out of any ambitious, empire-building law enforcement agency, has to be taken with a grain of salt. One reporter who had access to the leaked report says he will use everything except the Galante hype. "The reason DEA's pushing Galante as frog one," he believes, "is because this guy they've got under surveillance, this is the hood they know a lot about, so when they bring him down, they can say: 'Oh, wow! What a catch we got here! This is the boss of all bosses!' Of course, it's DEA who built him up as that. But it wants to look good in the papers, it wants to look big-time in Washington. I say bullshit."

The making of the godfather probably proved a bit easier to accomplish than DEA expected, but the real-life version may take a bit longer to develop. Says one top organized crime prosecutor in Washington disgusted with DEA's games, "Galante is a tough guy, okay, but so is Dellacroce. So is Paul Castellano Actually, you know what we hear? We hear it's going to be Tieri." (Frank Tieri, head of the old Genovese faction.)

But whether it's Tieri or Galante, or Ronzoni or Ragu, there is a more important question ignored by the recent round of Mafia journalism. The question is: does organized crime really want an overall single boss? According to one source as fluent in Italian as he is conversant with the underworld, "Who the hell needs that stuff anymore? It's old hat, and it's led to bad blood. I mean, first they had Masseria, and he drove everyone crazy. Then Maranzano moved in as the 'reform' godfather, and he was worse than any of them. Luciano got so famous he couldn't even come back to the country. Gambino was okay, but remember, he was quiet and subtle -- not like Galante, who reminds a lot of them of Joe Bonnano for more reasons than one and who's now getting even more publicity than Joe Colombo. And they don't like that. You ask me, the mob'll probably tell Galante and anyone else to stuff it and they'll have a board of directors running things without the development of a cult of personality - just like any other modern successful business."

Recent Mafia journalism also raises two other questions. One concerns the probity of a government agency in carrying on a publicity campaign on behalf of one faction of the mob. In a sense, of course, DEA succeeded in what it set out to do. But in another sense, it succeeded, like Nemesis, all too well. In attracting attention to Galanter at attracted attention to its own public relations. "Bell's people are wise to what went on in New York," says a Justice Department source in Washington. "There will be a reckoning." A second question concerns the prudence of a reporter relying so heavily on a leaked government report. Have we forgotten what we learned from the Kissinger-style news management in this regard? Government agencies will sometimes, perhaps, give a reporter a straight story out of the goodness of their hearts, but not always — especially a government bureaucracy like DEA which may soon find itself fighting "consolidation" under the FBI.

Finally, the recent round of Mafia reportage was especially notable for its unimaginative reliance on vintage Puzo. Even *Time*, which neatly hedged its bet on Galante by giving short odds on other candidates, fell victim to illustrations that resembled out-takes from *Godfather II*—and which hardly advanced the state of the art of Mafia reporting or journalism itself. For all the fresh faces and fresh blood, as it were, the recent journalism seems, even with the help of the federal report, a bit routine—even recidivist.

THE JODY WATCH

WHITE HOUSE FLIPS OUT

Haunted By Ghosts Of Presidents Past

Georgia team attacks 'Times' story.

BY AARON LATHAM

On April 25, James Wooten wrote a celebrated story in The New York Times which made Jimmy Carter look a lot like a denim Richard Nixon - a recluse sitting all alone at the center of a White House briarpatch of his own making. The comparison was never made explicitly, but it was there implicitly. The White House reacted with a Nixon-like denunciation of the story delivered by Jody Powell before the entire White House press corps. One lesson seems to be: equating Carter with Nixon makes Carter so mad that he becomes more like Nixon. This puts reporters in the position of being able to write self-fulfilling articles. Which can be a precarious business. In other words, I have seen the future, and it is Tricky.

The President tends to cling to his power." Wooten wrote, "to intimidate subordinates and to be ill at ease with strong-minded assistants who dissent....More and more, the President seems to be retreating into the sanctuary of his little study, emerging to speak 'to the people'...but stepping further and further away from the people he gathered together to help him govern....The effect....in the White House seems to have touched even such long-time aides as Jody Powell and Hamilton Jordan...

Overtly, Wooten compared Carter, not to Nixon, but to Admiral Hyman Rickover. ("Like Admiral Rickover... Mr. Carter runs a very tight ship...") Yet,

James Wooten: Target of Nixonian wrath.

another equation with another Navy man seems in some ways more apt. I have in mind the captain played by James Cagney in the movie *Mr. Roberts*. This captain, too, was isolated. He, too, could be "brutally brusque"—as Wooten wrote of Carter. But most of all, Captain Cagney could not stand criticism. When Wooten published his story, the White House reacted as if the *Times* man had thrown the captain's palm tree overboard.

At about 9 a.m. on Monday, April 25, Wooten got an angry call from Jody Powell. The White House press secretary called the story "horseshit."

Wooten figured that must mean the story had been published. He had written it early the previous week, and it had been in the can ever since. He had not seen the *Times* that morning because he had promised himself he would not so much as look at the paper all week. This was to be his week off. He would spend the week working on his book on Jimmy Carter.

Over the phone, Powell attempted to refute every paragraph in the story. Many of the opinions in the article were attributed to White House staff members. The press secretary sought to undermine that attribution and those opinions by admitting to a chilling act: he said he had called 23 White House staffers and asked them if they had talked to Wooten. They all said they had not, according to Powell. Then he started reading off the names on his inquisition list.

"I'm not going to respond to this list in any way whatsoever," Wooten told Powell. "I stand by the story. I think you'll find the Times stands behind it, too."

Powell's call did not surprise Wooten. He had witnessed this side of the Carter team before. The first time it had happened was in March 1976. That was when Wooten happened to notice something about the litany of Carter heroes reeled off in most of his speeches. These included Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Lincoln, the Roosevelts, Truman, Kennedy...Wooten discovered that before predominantly black audiences Carter added Martin Luther King, but before predominantly white audiences King was not one of his heroes. On the plane between campaign stops, Wooten challenged Carter, asking him if he had "forgotten" to mention King in a recent speech.

"No, I didn't forget," Carter said, his eyes turning cold. Then he added softly, "I won't do it again."

Then Carter walked off perturbed.

Carter cut the entire litany of heroes from his standard speech. And then Wooten wrote up the whole story. He described the way Carter used to use King's name before black but not white crowds. He also pointed out that the candidate had promised to stop. This promise came out as an admission of guilt.

Wooten recalls: "That didn't please them at all." He had infuriated the Georgia team by suggesting that Carter tailored his speeches to his audience—that he was a politician like other politicians. If being compared to all pols was enough to antagonize Carter, then how much more would he later dislike being compared to America's all-time worst pol?

Later in the campaign, Wooten wrote a story pointing out that at one stop Carter said Jerry Ford should have fired FBI Director Clarence Kelly; then at another stop the same day, Carter said he was not sure he would fire Kelly if he were elected President.

Wooten remembers: "They went right up the wall. I got quite a bit of crap from Powell then." For a day at least, the reporter had made Carter look as indecisive as George McGovern. Carter might not have fired Kelly, but at that point he would have had little trouble making up his mind about firing Wooten.

So the phone call from Jody Powell complaining about the recluse story was not exactly unprecedented. What happened later was.

When the White House press corps assembled for their daily briefing, Powell publicly denounced the Wooten story. This denunciation went on for an amazing half hour. When the transcript of the briefing was typed up, the part about Wooten occupied eight of the fifteen pages. And this was on a day when Jordan's King Hussein was in town talking about peace in the Middle East.

I will quote Powell's extraordinary briefing performance at length because one of the most extraordinary things about it was its length.

It began when a reporter said: "This morning in *The New York Times*, on page one, there was a story that reported that the President is 'intimidating subordinates'... and recently said to Hamilton Jordan, 'When you read as much of these papers as I do, then maybe you will have the right to disagree.' Could you give us your *brief* analysis of this rather ominous *Times* report?"

Powell said, "I know I speak continued on page 29

Aaron Latham is a contributing editor of MORE.

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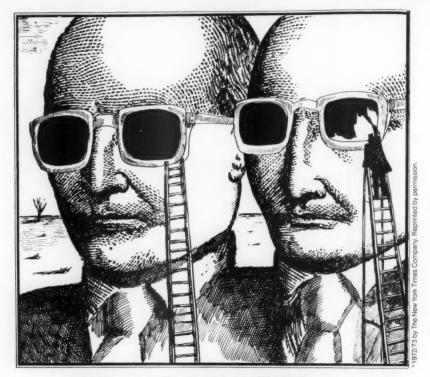
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for the entire senior staff when I say that that analysis is a complete departure from the facts of the situation here in the White House. I might also say that unfortunately no member of the senior staff was consulted prior to the writing of that piece, that the statement which invoked my name and Hamilton's name is completely untrue. Neither of us were asked to comment upon that. I can assure you that none of us feel that we are intimidated, or that we are constrained in our opportunity to offer dissenting opinions...

"The quote that is attributed to the President that you mentioned specifically, the statement that when you have had a chance to read, and so forth, both Hamilton and the President state that that did not take place. There is in addition an assertion in that story that the President has asked the Secret Service to bar staffers from his office. That is absolutely not the case with regard to the Secret Service... or anyone else.

"The senior staff has—except for the constraints which we impose upon ourselves out of respect for his time—access to him whenever we choose. There is not even any constraint upon calling him on the weekends or in the evenings..."

A reporter then asked the question:

"Jody, why are you so uptight about this story? I am tempted to say you protest too much."

Powell said, "Without agreeing that I am uptight about the thing, I think a story which implies that the President, the President of the United States, that his senior staff members are dissatisfied, that he is not open to criticism and that he is becoming reclusive and is brutal to his staff is a fairly serious charge, and it happens to be the furthest thing from the truth."

(Oh, no, not uptight at all.)
A reporter asked, "What does
the President think of it?"

Ignoring the question, Powell continued, "And as you well know, such stories, if not dealt with, become the subject for third and fourth derivative columns and analyses, and so forth, which become totally impossible to deal with..."

(Which shows that Powell,

usually highly intelligent, sometimes understands the press about as well as, you will forgive the comparison, Ron Ziegler did. Reporters are drawn to overkill denials like sharks to blood. Powell's protests—not the original story—have triggered countless spin-off columns, including this one.)

A persistent reporter asked again, "What did the President think of the story?"

Powell said, "The President didn't comment on it this morning except when I asked him if he had made such a statement to Ham."

A reporter asked, "Did he see the story?"

Powell said, "I am sure he probably did."

A reporter asked, "Jody, do you have any opinion on why some person or persons in the White House made these statements to *The New York Times*?"

Powell said, "You know, the one thing that I don't do, and that I hope I never get into the position of feeling like I have to do, is trying to race around trying to find out who said this or that to a reporter."

(Such racing around would evoke the Plumbers, which Powell would certainly not want to do. Yet he went on to admit that he had raced around telephonically.)

The reporter said, "I didn't ask that."

Powell continued, "So not knowing what person might have said the quotes that were attributed to anonymous staffers, I have no way of judging why they might have said them. I can state with assurance that it did not come from anyone who is in a position to know, inasmuch as the reporter did not talk to any of the senior staffers. I might say not only...was there no conversation with the nine senior staffers, there are about, I think it runs to about 20 that I had a chance to touch base with, going straight down the list in terms of title and salary. and evidently none of them were consulted, either."

A reporter pointed out, "But you don't race around trying to find out who a reporter talks to? You just checked 20 this morning"

Another journalist asked, "You actually asked 20 people if

they said that? Did you expect them to say yes?"

Powell said, "I would expect about half of them...I don't want to get into a fight about it. If *The New York Times* wants to state that they did talk to some of those 20 people and that these people have misrepresented themselves to me, that is fine with me. But *The New York Times* was given an opportunity to make such a statement this morning and refused to do it."

"Who gave the Times that opportunity?"

"I did."

"Could you tell us about that?"

"What I said was, 'I have talked to a number of these people and they all say that they haven't even talked to you about anything, much less about this particular theory of operations.' And I also stated that I recognize the fact that in some cases there might be an inclination on the part of a fellow staffer in a situation like this to be less than forthcoming with me. And I said, 'Are some of these people misleading me or misleading you?' The answer was that, well, you know, 'I can't say, I am not going to."

"Have you talked to Wooten?"

Charles Mohr, the Times' other White House correspondent, said, "Wait a minute, Jody. You [have] done one of the gravest things a press spokesman can do, and implied—not only implied, stated flatly—that this story is made up without sources, that 'you could not have talked to anybody in a position to know,' and so forth, and I just think that is pretty strong. For you to say you didn't want to pick a fight rather astonishes me."

Powell said, "You have got to have some opportunities to defend yourself, Charlie. I mean, you know, the President has been called a brutal recluse, and nobody, you know, we've got some folks around here that, you know, that have been working with him for a while, you know. And me and Hamilton are stuck in there and there is a statement made that our relationship has been affected by all of this. Nobody ever asked us about it. I am just saying..."

A reporter asked, "Has your relationship been affected by all of this?"

Powell said, "No. And let me say one more thing. I recognize the difficulty in getting to the bottom of stuff like this....The best information I can derive, and I am in somewhat the same position that a reporter is, I ask the question and I get an answer, and I have to try to best decide whether it is credible or not. I have been told, you know, by these people that they were not consulted, and I believe them. Okay? You know, if you all want to take the position that you did talk to somebody, that is all right."

"You believe none of these 20 folks actually did speak to the Times, then?"

"Yes, yes, I happen to..."
"You did this without the Pres-

"You did this without the President requesting you to do it?"

"It was without his request or his knowledge. It would not be the sort of thing that I would feel the need to go ask him about."

(The man at the top never

A reporter said, "On specifics, I don't remember the story indicating the President was all that brutal, but the main point that it made, I thought, was that he admired Admiral Rickover in the way he dealt with people and that he never paid them a compliment. So my question is, has the President ever on a specific occasion said to you, 'Jody, you did a nice job on this?""

Another reporter added, "Let me see the answer to this one."

Powell said, "I have never made any secret of the fact...that this particular President is not overly given to patting staff people on the back. And I would venture to say that anybody that requires being patted on, stroked, or kissed on the ear in order to function effectively, is in the wrong place and ought to go to work for somebody else."

(In other words, the White House welcomes staff dissenters, but anybody who doesn't like the way things are going and goes crying to a reporter had better clean out his desk.)

A reporter asked, "Why does he have such a lack of appreciation?"

Powell said, "I think he does appreciate it. I just don't require him telling me that he appreciates what I do or that I have done a

good job in order to function. If I do my job well, then I am in a much better position to know whether I am doing it right than he is. And, you know, as a matter of fact, he did in fact tell me-not within the past ten days, which brings the total to about seven, I would guess, over the time I have known him - he did offer a compliment.'

A reporter asked, "What was

Powell said, "He said, 'Not a bad job." When the reporters laughed, he added, "That is not what he said, as a matter of fact."

(So much for credibility.) What did he say?"

"I don't think that is particularly relevant."

proud of you?"

"Not to me. He used to tell my mom and daddy that every now and then."

"Did he ask you if you had done your best?'

"He knows the answer to that. And it is a tribute to his charity that he doesn't make me respond."

"Jody," a reporter said, "my recollection of the Times story is a good part of it has to do with an atmosphere of intimidation around here. Whether or not you intended it, don't you think that by running around and intimidating some contacts with the senior or perhaps junior staff members you are contributing to that?"

Powell said flatly, "There is no "Didn't he ever say he was atmosphere of intimidation to

contribute to."

"Maybe creating an atmosphere?"

"It is certainly not my preference to waste time attempting to check up on and find out if the people that were involved in the article were ever contacted."

"Why did you do it then?"

"Because it became obvious to me...that we may be dealing with a situation in which the attitudes and behavior and so forth of the senior White House staff had been described, and nobody on the senior White House staff has been given a chance to respond to it. You are welcome to call these people yourselves if you would like and make your own determination."

"Good luck?"

The Nixon gang would have gone much further. They would not only have denounced the story, they would have audited Wooten's taxes and put their antitrust people to work trying to break up the New York Times Corporation. Still, at Jody Powell's briefing, there seemed to be a ghost with sweat on his upper lip there in the room.

After the briefing, Bob Schieffer, CBS's White House correspondent, observed, "That's the first time I ever heard anyone deny a mood story. No reporter ever got his ass chewed for missing a mood story. It would have just died. Now it'll go on and on."

Jody Powell went to his office and called Jim Wooten to tell him about the briefing.

"I took out after you pretty hard," the press secretary said.

"What the hell did you say?" Wooten asked. "Did you say the story's 'horseshit'?'

"I marched right up to it," Powell said.

It was a strained conversation. The following Saturday night Wooten attended the White House Correspondents' Association dinner at the Washington Hilton. Jimmy Carter and Jody Powell came too.

President Carter told the audience, "In reporting fact from fiction in the White House, I would just like to mention my good friend Jim Wooten-the Erica Jong of The New York Times. And I want you to know I have instructed my press secretary Jody

Powell to find out who at the White House used the phrase 'cruel recluse' to describe me. Jody is now interrogating everyone at the White House, including 23 staff members, so I'll be letting you know when we find out who said it. If not, my new press secretary will."

In the interest of saving Jody Powell's job, I can now reveal who it was who used that phrase. It was Jody Powell himself. Not in an interview with Wooten. No, it was in his briefing. Powell said Carter had been called a "brutal recluse." but there was no such description in Wooten's story. Carter's press secretary coined

the phrase.

At the end of the ceremony, Powell came up to Wooten and asked why he did not write a story comparing Carter to Howard Hughes with a beard, long fingernails, and Kleenex everywhere. He did a whole routine, a schtick. He had obviously given this first meeting considerable thought. Powell was not trying to laugh the whole thing off, but he worked too hard at his humor just as he had worked too hard at his original denial.

The following Wednesday, Richard Nixon appeared on television to lie about the Watergate cover-up. Once again he had invaded our air waves, but he had been in the air here in Washington for some time before the show was broadcast. It is a measure of how bad a President Nixon was that it drives other Presidents crazy to be compared with him, even implicitly. But is it also a measure of Carter? What is he afraid of? Is he worried he might be reborn a third time as some latter-day son of Nixon? Better to be sure but nonetheless surrounded by a Georgia clay wall?

At his memorable briefing, Jody Powell quite simply flipped out in public. I would say this kind of emotional exhibitionism evoked memories of events like Nixon's recent performance on television or his White House farewell - I would say that except I know how upset such notaltogether-fair comparisons make Jody.

Of course, the best way to let the ghosts out of the White House would be to open some doors.

WHAT DOES CARTER READ?

The White House released the following list of magazines that are regularly reviewed by the press office for its news summary:

Atlantic Broadcasting **Business Week** Columbia Journalism Review Ebony Encore The Economist First Monday **Human Events** MORE Manchester Guardian Mother Jones Ms. The Nation National Journal National Review

National Spotlight

The New Republic

New Times

New West New York New York Review of Books New Yorker People Playboy Progressive Psychology Today Rollcall Rolling Stone Saturday Review Science Sports Illustrated Texas Monthly T.V. Guide U.S. News and World Report Washington Monthly Washingtonian

As for Carter's new austerity program . . .

The New York Times reported on April 8 that Hugh Carter Jr., President Carter's 34-year-old second cousin, had trimmed \$50,000 worth of newspaper and magazine subscriptions from the White House budget. No publication was eliminated completely. As Claudia Townsend of the press office's news summary explained, the cut came from eliminating 50 Times and a variety of other publications that used to go to 50 different offices. Now a few copies of each are kept in the library, accessible to the same offices at a considerable savings.

Recently, the White House added six black weeklies to their list of subscriptions, including the Baltimore Afro-American, the Chicago Defender, and the Amsterdam News, to provide a greater awareness of the interests of that minority.

One chemist thinks it all began when cavemen licked their neighbors

"Whatever its primal origins, social kissing seems to be resounding with greater frequency around the nation."

cheeks for the salt on them." TIME

Lance Morrow, Senior Writer

We are in the midst of a kissing epidemic. Definitive symptoms were detected at the Inauguration. Goodness knows where it will end.

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Another reason why TIME has earned more awards for editorial excellence than any other magazine.

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TIMES WATCH

MR. SMITH GOES TO WASHINGT

Massive Shake-Up, Defections Rock D.C. Bureau

Reporters charge Rosenthal in control.

BY PHILIP NOBILE

The Washington Bureau of The New York Times is not what it used to be. In recent months, this perennially troubled outpost of talented reporters has suffered one of the greatest mass migrations in the history of the fourth estate. The depopulation roughly coincides with the accession of Hedrick Smith to chief of station last November. But it may be more a consequence of Executive Editor A.M. Rosenthal's newly asserted control over this iournalistic barony.

The traditional independence of the Washington Bureau, stoutly defended in the past by such powerful chiefs as Arthur Krock. James Reston, Tom Wicker, and Max Frankel, has withered away under Abe Rosenthal. Rick Smith - who had been deputy national editor since returning from Moscow in 1974-is his appointment. The bureau, some Times men say, is now his bureau

What New York's dominance portends is still unclear. But the first six months of the Rosenthal-Smith alliance certainly have been rocky.

Eileen Shanahan, a premier economics correspondent at the Times for the past fourteen years, quit the paper in a huff in December and took a job with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. She now accuses her former bosses of sex discrim-

James Naughton, the bureau's most gifted reporter, had already

decided to take the chief's desk at the Chicago Tribune's Washington office, when New York intervened persuasively at the last minute.

In addition, two of the bureau's top capitol investigators - John Crewdson and Nicholas Horrock - have departed; diplomatic correspondent Leslie Gelb defected to the State Department: national political reporter, Christopher Lydon, snubbed during the 1976 campaign, left in December for a job with a Boston television station; and Doug Robinson, the bureau's assignment editor, quit in a huff in March.

Some of the change-overs and dashed ambitions are the inevitable consequences of a shift in command. But, according to bureau sources, Times management could have controlled the damage better. Bitterness lingers and gripes about Smith's stewardship can be heard in the Times' L Street office.

Capital **Investigators**

When Seymour Hersh moved his one-man investigative operation from Washington to New York last fall, he didn't leave much of a hole. He had long since dropped out of covering breaking stories and was never crucial to the bureau's day-to-day operations. In contrast, the loss of Crewdson and Horrock has been more damaging.

The 31-year-old Crewdson wanted out of Washington. He had covered the Justice Depart-



A.M. Rosenthal (top) and Hedrick Smith: Mass defections and sinking morale have beset the Times Washington Bureau since Smith took over in November. Smith gives the orders in D.C., but is Abe pulling the strings from New York?

Philip Nobile is a contributing editor of MORE.

ment since the summer of Watergate when, as little more than a news clerk, he proved his journalistic talents. He obtained a copy of the complete Huston Plan-Nixon's blueprint for political surveillance-and broke the story of the seventeen wiretaps Nixon placed on newsmen and government officials after the Cambodian bombing story was leaked to the press. Despite his excellent sources within the FBI and success unmatched by any Washington reporter his age, Crewdson had wanted to be transferred since the summer of 1976. The Times dispatched him to Houston as a national correspondent, where he has been covering stories from the Mexican border to the Victorio Peak gold rush in New Mexico.

Unlike Crewdson, Nick Horrock wanted out of the organization. Hired away from Newsweek in 1973 to occupy the investigative position briefly held by Denny Walsh (the former Life reporter who alienated management by selling his rejected Times story on then-San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto to Rolling Stone). Horrock adjusted well to the routine of daily journalism. He had come to the Times precisely because of his frustrations at Newsweek. Horrock feels that the weeklies are unsuited by nature for nursing along criminal cases and had anticipated compatible working arrangements with the Times. He was not disappointed. Although New York had become paranoid about The Washington Post Watergate scoops, he and Crewdson gained the confidence of the boys in the bullpen-the last line of editorial examiners who preside over copy as the College of Cardinals presides over dogma. When Horrock was beaten by the Post on rare occasions, New York didn't panic. His news judgment was trusted, and he was content.

But, suddenly last spring, the *Times* sent him off to chase the *Post*-originated Wayne Hays affair while he was in the middle of tracking down then-Presidential candidate Jerry Brown's alleged mishandling of California's prepaid health programs. Naturally,

Horrock resented this journalistic interruptus. Investigative reporters are the bounty hunters of their profession and they are castrated when ordered to follow up another reporter's claim. "The Times constantly reacted to The Washington Post," he says, "and we shifted gears to get involved in stories they opened up."

Then the bullpen started second-guessing Horrock. Stories that he thought were cleared by the national editors would be bounced back to him "by guys who wear green eve shades." According to Horrock, the bullpen often tried to soften or play down his stories. For example, his story about Jimmy Carter's free rides on Lockheed planes while Governor of Georgia ran inside rather than on page one. The bullpen, he says, was more comfortable with clearly illegal offenses, and these questionable trips weren't against state law

Horrock fired off memos to his editors, but the situation did not improve. He had so little expectation that the *Times* would revert to his concept of enterprise reporting that he did not even bother to discuss *Newsweek*'s job offer with management. He simply informed them in December that he would return whence he came to head up a special investigative team based in Washington.

Why did the Times drive out a reporter of Horrock's reputation? Could they not have accommodated his style as they accommodated Hersh? Apparently, one wildcard is enough. Asked to comment on Horrock's departure, the new deputy bureau chief, John Herbers, said, "The fact is that the Times is a difficult paper to work with. It not only wants to report stories we come up with but all kinds of breaking stories as well. We're supposed to be everything to everybody and we have layers of editors that can create problems." Then the bullpen horrors are not exaggerated? "A lot of it never gets down to the reporter," admitted Herbers. "You should spend one day in my job."

Anthony Marro of Newsweek and Wendell Rawls of The Philadelphia Inquirer were hired to fulfill the *Times* investigative mandate in Washington. Has the *Times* learned anything from the Horrock affair? Will the nation's paper of record treat enterprising reporters differently in the future? These queries elicited only a chuckle from an editor in New York.

Defections

The bureau's diplomatic "cluster" was fractured by the defection of Leslie Gelb. A former whiz-kid in McNamara's Defense Department, Gelb joined the Times in 1973, straight from the Brookings Institution, without day's experience in journalism. The transition was not easy for him or his editors. He lusted for stories that routinely fell to Bernard Gwertzman, a productive but unspectacular diplomatic correspondent much favored by deskmen for his indefatigability. Yet Gelb's reportage gradually caught up with his analytical brilliance and knowledge of Washington's bureaucracy.

Although he was close to Carter's State Department transition coordinator, Anthony Lake, and other foreign policy advisors, Gelb probably would have stayed at the Times if he had received the column he sought last fall. Rick Smith carried the proposal without enthusiasm to then-Managing Editor Abe Rosenthal. "It was a short conversation," Smith said. (Flora Lewis, chief European correspondent, is generally regarded to be first in line for C.L. Sulzberger's foreign affairs column.)

Gelb was also reportedly upset by Smith's intention to poach on his arms control territory. His parting shot, perhaps apocryphal, was: "If I can't cover SALT for the Times, I'll cover it for Jimmy Carter." Some editors in New York felt betrayed when Gelb accepted the job of Assistant Secretary of State for Military Affairs. Not only had their tutelage gone to waste, but they thought he had broken a commitment not to trade in his typewriter for a portfolio in the next Democratic administration. Gelb could not be reached for comment.

Two Wall Street Journal reporters — Bob Keatley and Dick

Levine—were sounded out for Gelb's spot; both turned the *Times* down.

Graham Hovey, a veteran diplomatic reporter not far from retirement, has been drafted from New York, while David Binder. the forgotten man in the foreign cluster, will move reluctantly to New York in June. A bureau source said that Binder was "cold-bloodedly" informed of this surprising relocation last June in the lobby of the Times building in Washington by Peter Millones, assistant managing editor for personnel. This shift from foreign to city reporting indicated a complete disregard for Binder's experience and insensitivity to his personal life. He will now be forced to commute between Washington and New York since his wife is unable to relocate her medical practice.

Political Plums

After the climax of Presidential elections, chief political correspondent Johnny Apple tends to be triste and requires a change of scene. In 1968, he did a four in Africa; in 1972, he was miscast as White House correspondent. This time he hankered for a foreign assignment, but settled for a new post designed especially for him—a super Congres-



Nicholas Horrock: Returned to Newsweek

sional correspondent or, in the words of a colleague, "philosopher king of the Hill." But when Robert Semple quit London to become foreign editor in December, Apple requested and received British duty. (Al Hunt could not be tempted away from The Wall Street Journal for Apple's transcendent Hill beat.)

Chris Lydon, the Bureau's other designated observer of national politics, might have succeeded Apple if 1976 hadn't turned into a disaster for him. A gifted writer and raconteur from The Boston Globe, Lydon considered himself an earthly approximation of The New York Times reporter's Platonic form, a harmonious match of self-image and reality. In 1974, when NBC offered him an on-camera job in tandem with Doug Kiker, he asked Rosenthal to give him his walking papers if the Times didn't intend to stick with him in 1976. Since no doubts were expressed, according to Lydon, he gladly stuck with the paper.

Yet 1976 coverage was planned without him. He was denied the flexibility and range that he felt had been promised. Despite his background in New England politics, the Times excluded him from both the New Hampshire and Massachusetts



Leslie Gelb: Off to the State Department. "If I can't cover SALT for the Times, I'll cover it for Jimmy Carter."

primaries. And he was forced, | not without humiliation, into covering the inconsequential Vermont primary on the very morning of the election. Lydon was permitted to trail Carter through Wisconsin, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, but was pulled off the Carter campaign at the end of April and told by National Editor Dave Jones to stalk Ronald Reagan. Lydon balked at their seeming trivialization of his talents. When Rosenthal refused to intervene on appeal, the recalcitrant Lydon retreated to Washington where Jones put him on general assignment breaking rocks. Lydon balked again until he was reassigned to campaign politics. He was not invited to the Democratic Convention and played no major role in the fall elections.

But Lydon was not completely blackballed. The Times ordained him Philadelphia correspondent in November. It wasn't a glamour post like New Orleans or San Francisco, but he would be on his own in the biggest oneman territory in the Times' national grid. After two years there, he could look forward to going overseas. But when WGBH, Boston's educational TV outlet. decided to contract him for a mutually devised news commentator's job in December, Lydon cut the cord. "I kissed Mother Times goodbye," he said, "and she didn't blink an eye."

Deputy Editor John Herbers partially confirms Lydon's lament. "Chris did get short shrift," he said, "and I regret it. It was a bad deal. But there were two sides. I wanted him to be used in more creative ways when I was on the national desk, but he'd go off for two or three days without calling in and the assignments would be gone. The basic problem was that he kept pushing for a party line that put people off. He thought the Democratic nomination hinged on the Humphrey campaign and that Humphrey would get it. Our polling and reports indicated otherwise. But he still pushed it and some people lost patience."

Lydon challenges Herbers' description of his difficulties. "I'm sorry if my theory upset anyone, though nobody ever said as much to me. And I grant that if I noticed Jimmy earlier than some, I stuck with the Hubert possibility longer than others. But I still think that I had a good general frame on the race."

Jim Naughton, the best allaround reporter in the bureau according to his peers, almost got away. He was on the verge of accepting a job as chief of the Chicago Tribune's Washington bureau when Rick Smith heard of the negotiations. He informed New York of the impending loss and headquarters called him in for deprogramming. Although Naughton had previously shown zero inclination for executive action, the Times made it clear that he would have been considered for deputy national editor or deputy bureau chief if only they had been more aware of his desire. On the premise that he would be so considered in the future, Naughton gave up on the Tribune's higher salary, company car, and the chance to edit one of the chain's other newspapers. "If I'm going to be an editor," he said, "why not at the *Times*?"

Curtis Wilkie, White House correspondent for The Boston Globe, showed the same loyalty to his employer when the Times approached him for the second time in January. He had previously rejected an opportunity to go to New York after the election and did not wish to be visited by the temptation of another Times interview. But he listened to Rick Smith on the insistence of his friend Charles Mohr, currently the Times' man at the White House. Smith said he was interested in Wilkie for general assignment reporting. He would do long take-outs like Naughton on a variety of capital topics. This is dream labor for a journalist because it allows him to avoid the drudgery of a beat and the anxiety of hard-core investigations. Wilkie is still waiting Smith's firm and final tender. "I'm not too hot to make a move. The Times is an unknown and I can't imagine being happier professionally."

Sex Discrimination

Why would Eileen Shanahan. one of the country's most re-

spected economics writers, quit the Times to flack for Joseph Califano's Department of Health. Education and Welfare? Principally, because Abe Rosenthal denied her the opportunity to share top economic stories with Clyde Farnsworth who was brought in to succeed Edwin Dale as the Times' chief economics correspondent. Shanahan attributes her failure to advance at the Times to "pure, blind bigotry."

Shanahan joined a group of women employees at the Times who had filed a sex-discrimination suit against the paper in 1974. Information obtained in that case-raised to a class action suit in February - indicated that Shanahan is indeed a prima facie case of Times sexism. For example, her 1976 salary of \$33,583 ranked nineteenth in a bureau of 32 correspondents (27 males and 5 females). An affidavit by the Times women's counsel, Harriet Rabb, explains:

"Ms. Shanahan is paid considerably less than men with equivalent or substantially less experience than she has. While she ranks twelfth among Domestic Correspondents in the Washington bureau in terms of the number of years she has worked at the Times, Ms. Shanahan ranks nineteenth in the amount of salary received. All those receiving more than she does are men, including two who were hired the same year as Ms. Shanahan-Edward Cowan and Joseph Lelyveld. There are eight men in the Washington bureau who were hired after Ms. Shanahan (1962) who are paid more than she is.'

The eight males listed with their salary differentials are R. W. Apple (\$12,334), Charles Mohr (\$3,553), Bernard Gwertzman (\$2,162). David Burnham (\$1,171), Richard Lyons (\$1,092), James Naughton (\$312), and Walter Rugaber (\$52). Only three men hired before Shanahan pulled in less and only four in the entire bureau surpassed her total journalistic experience of twenty-nine years. In addition, five male colleagues (Apple, Dale, Finney, Lelyveld, and Mohr) were rewarded with extra compensation

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in the form of stock and bonuses. Shanahan never got an extra penny.

Thus, despite her experience, skill, and seniority, Shanahan earned less than the median salary (\$34,415) and the average salary (\$36,063) of her male colleagues in Washington. When Rabb noticed this discrepancy, she asked Shanahan to join the women's suit. "Eileen," she said, 'you're the smoking gun.' Shanahan was warned that the paper would retaliate just short of breaking the law; she cites her subsequent inability to get news analysis pieces published as an effect of her coming out publicly for the suit. She was also ostracized from the "News of the Week" section by its late editor Al Marlens after a disagreement on a story idea.

Times editors dispute the charge of bigotry. While acknowledging Shanahan's proven talents, they suggest that Rosenthal's stance was not entirely without cause. He overlooked Rick Smith's suggestion that she and Farnsworth divide the bureau's economic duties. "I stuck my neck out for you," Smith told her, "but Abe won't have you." Two editors under Rosenthal proffer the following reservations about Shanahan's suitability for the promotion:

· Lack of range in reporting; constantly deferred to Dale.

Shanahan's response: "Isn't that outrageous! That makes my stomach turn. In other words, I didn't use my elbows to write stories that somebody else was assigned to do. Dale was assigned the top economic stories. I made a career in the interstices - in tax policy, banking, etc.'

· Failed to give sufficient story guidance to editors.

Shanahan's response: "That's so unfair and untrue. I gave crucial guidance forever on the telephone on tax and economic policy stories.

"If they mean my views differed from theirs from time to time, okay, because I knew more about the subject than they did. See what coward will put his name on that."

· A late filer.

Shanahan's response; "I am a deadline filer, I admit it. When I

was in the bureau together with | Rick Smith, Max Frankel, Bob Semple, and Tad Szulc, we were the most notorious deadline filers any newspaper ever had. But find out who else was punished for it."

• Too many screaming fits and rages with editors over the years.

Shanahan's response: "There are a lot of sharp exchanges under deadline pressure in a newsroom and mine were no sharper than many people's. But I'm not beyond the acceptable range unless you're a sex bigot."

Shanahan is perturbed by this ex post facto criticism, but she thinks she knows its origin. "It's obvious that the reason for these allegations against me is that the Times is scared to death of the women's class action lawsuit. The Times can't possibly argue that my reporting or writing was inferior because the evidence of the quality of my work is there in black and white. So in order to try to defeat my claim of discrimination they must argue that I was not up to snuff on internal matters like giving guidance on stories."

One sympathetic New York editor hinted that the Shanahan affair was immensely complicated. He had no doubts about her intellect, but brooded about her actual ability to perform as well as she was able. "It was the most frustrating thing I ever dealt with," he said, "trying to make sure that what I knew was there would come out. The heart and soul of the matter was a personality conflict writ large."

Managing Editor Seymour Topping valiantly attempted to prevent Shanahan's transfer to HEW. "I believe you really don't want me to go," she told him on the telephone the day she decided to leave, "but none of you is willing to go to Abe and say 'Eileen is quitting and you're the only one who can stop her." "Topping said he had already done that earlier in the day but that Rosenthal replied that he had nothing for her. So Eileen Shanahan is no longer in journalism and her former coworkers are scandalized by the way the Times let her go.

Ed Dale, the catalyst of this controversy, never reached London where he had been assigned to cover the British economy. He too resigned unhappily after refusing medical treatment prescribed by the Times' doctors as a condition for going overseas. He now labors for the House Subcommittee on Economic Stabili-

Who's in Charge?

What does Smith want to do with the job he coveted for years and for which he was well-tutored in a series of choice reporting and editing posts in Washington, New York, and Moscow where he won a Pulitzer Prize? "There's no master plan," he said, "but we're deliberately trying to project more effectively than we've done in the past how Washington works, give a better feel for its personalities, and establish closer links between the Washington report and the reports from the rest of the country. We increased our domestic cluster from two to five reporters anticipating greater activity in this area by the new Democratic administration."

Rick Smith is not the total architect of his own bureau. Some personnel shifts were completed before his arrival and others proceeded over his objections. "I don't feel I've got to carry the day 100 per cent of the time without its challenging my authority." he remarked. "The final decisions are Abe's, but most of my suggestions are taken."

While still bureau chief-elect, Smith invited John Finney, an oldhand correspondent with fingers in several capital corners, to desert the Pentagon and become the bureau's assignment editor. This is the number three editorial position behind Smith and Herbers and involves day-to-day handling of 32 reporters and their stories. Doug Robinson, who had held the same post for two years, did not accept his displacement kindly, resigning the day he learned of Finney's appointment. Then bureau chief Clifton Daniel convinced him to take three months accrued vacation to cool off. Meanwhile Robinson turned down alternative proposalsreporting jobs in Chicago, Washington, and New York. In March, he finally quit his employer of 22 years. "What they were offering was really a demotion," he said. "You can't be reduced from one | Accused the Times of sexism.

group [editorial] to another [reportingl in New York. But they tried to get away with it in Washington. It was like saying that I had wasted my time the previous two years."

Although Smith insists that the Finney appointment was originally his idea, Robinson has a sinister explanation of the move. "Two editors told me that Abe was going to use the change of regime to get me off the desk because I was too negative toward New York." The two Times men clashed many years ago in Manhattan when Rosenthal was metropolitan editor and Robinson was on rewrite. "Abe's a very peculiar man," Robinson observed. "He grabbed my arm at a party three months after he became metropolitan editor and told me that he noticed that I had been glaring at him across the newsroom and that he felt I didn't love him. Then he said, 'The sky's the limit for you but you're not going anyplace unless you love me.' "

Paranoia or not, Robinson made the valid point that Rosenthal's power has never been greater in Washington. "This is the first time that the bureau's been run by Abe. For example, I was in Rick's office the day he asked Abe if it would be okay to put Dave Burnham on the House



Eileen Shanahan: Now at HEW

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never before heard of such a routine assignment being cleared with the executive editor. There was always someone between



Christopher Lydon: At Boston TV station WGBH. His '76 campaign assignments were a waste of his talents.

Assassination Committee. I had him and the bureau - Wicker, Frankel, Daniel...

Clifton Daniel? Wasn't he Abe's pawn, a burnt-out case plucked from exile at the Times radio station for strictly interim duty until younger men were ready to step in? "Daniel had many facets that nobody ever saw," replied Robinson. "Abe would call him almost every morning to rake somebody over the coals. But Daniel absorbed Abe's fury and didn't pass it on."

Robinson did not express the same confidence in the chief who presided over his liquidation. "To describe Rick Smith as an overachiever is probably too nice. He's a talented reporter and writer, but he's disorganized and bewildered. The result is chaos. People in New York complain about what's coming out of the bureau. Rick Smith is just concentrating on being important."

Robinson's diatribe has not fallen on deaf ears. "He's not far off the mark," states a member of the bureau with no visible ax to grind. This correspondent's earlier leap of faith in Smith's leadership has our normal procedure to clear as-

receded in recent days and he doubts that his boss will ever succeed. "Reporters around here used to complain about New York," he explained, "but now they complain about the bureau itself . . . and John Herbers, he's so good, so solid, yet so ineffective. Some people think the title did it to him. As deputy bureau chief [before Herbers, the second man in Washington was called the news editor], maybe he just sees himself as an arm of Rick's."

Morale is reportedly scraping bottom. Smith does not appear sufficiently disengaged from Rosenthal and thus a certain jitteriness pervades the bureau. The chief has lost the confidence of his staff, according to this source. "It doesn't seem to affect Rick," he said, "but I can't believe he's not aware of it."

Smith does not wish to rebut his critics at length. However, he disputed Robinson's recollection of the Burnham story. "That's not right," he said. "I don't remember having discussed that assignment with Abe, but it is not

signments on stories with New York . . . I don't want to get into an argument with Doug, but he hasn't worked here since January and a lot has changed since then."

Although Smith is disappointed by hints of broader dissatisfaction, he feels that pessimism about his stewardship is passing. Suspicion comes with the territory. For example, he cites Bob Phelps, who was perceived as New York's man when he was appointed news editor in 1968, yet soon became extremely popular in Washington. Bureau people were initially uneasy about Max Frankel, and Clifton Daniel had his problems too. So Smith believes that time is on his side. He may be right. Nonetheless, he regrets that loyalty seems to be the issue.

"I think it's a shame to look at the question of leadership in the bureau as one in which the bureau chief or his deputy proves himself by either being the agent of New York in the bureau or the bureau's champion against New York. Obviously the job involves doing

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LOST 'BETWEEN THE LINES' Underground Press Movie

A Gonzo Fabrication

Marching out the myths of the 60s.

BY ANDREW KOPKIND

Joan Micklin Silver's new film, Between the Lines, is about "alternative" weekly journalism in Boston in the way that The Mary Tyler Moore Show is about television news in Minneapolis. The setting of the film is appropriate, the characters are approximate, and the conversation-when it alights on issues of the office - is accurate. But the material of the work-place is mostly decoration for the set; the situation is incidental to the comedy.

At the outset, I must state my unavoidable prejudices. Like the credited writer, Fred Barron, I have worked at both the Boston Phoenix (formerly Boston After Dark) and The Real Paper (formerly The Phoenix), the two local "sea-level" weeklies combined in Barron's script to form the imaginary Back Bay Mainline. His characters are close enough to our once-and-present colleagues to make difficult my suspension of disbelief in their fictitiousness. It is hard to take a cartoon of an editor seriously when the fleshy version is breathing down my neck.

Now verisimilitude is not necessarily a test for success in the plotting of movies or the drawing of characters, even though audiences with inside information will wince when actors stylize and distort their friends and relationships on the screen. Between the Lines was not made for a coterie of Boston media mavens. But we can hope for more exactitude in

the creation of a context that makes the characters and their activities credible. Redford and Hoffman weren't Woodward and Bernstein, and the Hollywood Washington Post wasn't the Washington Washington Post; but what went on in that contrived city room was generally believable in its own terms.

The Mainline, however, is a

gonzo fabrication of unmotivated love affairs, unexplained alienation, underdeveloped idealism and an occasional hot scoop. It projects a mid-Seventies consciousness of hapless hipness, the slow sad crash of refugees from the rush of the Sixties, the drudgery of life east of the Gates of Eden. Just behind that projection are the unexamined myths of the generation: the end of the Vietnam war left rebel Youth without a Cause; capitalism has co-opted revolutionary lifestyles; underground journalism struggles to survive in the exposés and outrages of the alternative press.

As the movie begins, the Mainline is weak at the knees if not down on its last legs. Rumors circulate that the paper will soon be sold by its original semi-hip owner to a minor Murdoch with a straight string of properties. Harry, the burnt-out star reporter of the Sixties, threatens to flee to Vermont to write a novel, but meanwhile coasts along on his

historical charisma. His liberated girlfriend, an aspiring photographer, cannot live with him or leave him alone. Michael, the counter-culture expert of yore, has actually begun his novel about "us" and the way we are now, and plans to relocate in New York where fame and fortune wait. His girlfriend, an uninspired writer, cannot decide whether to follow him or stay in Boston and turn out more uninspired copy all by herself. Mousy David is stuck in the sex-ads section but yearns to be an investigative reporter. Stanley the advertising manager is letching after Lynn the receptionist. Max, the wacky rock critic, has all the best lines, but no money and not much of a future.

"All of us are on our way up or our way down," the editor says (before disappearing until the final few feet of the film); "we're just passing through." Fair enough: but is that a description of life at the Mainline or life in general? In director Joan Micklin



Lindsay Crouse, Gwen Welles and Jill Eikenberry between assignments.

Andrew Kopkind is on the staff of The Real Paper and WBCN-FM in Boston.

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Silver's heavy hands, it is no idle remark, and its emphasis suggests how prominently Between the Lines will wear its alienation on its sleeve

Silver moves these characters around in random sequence, slicing their lives from a limp loaf. Some episodes are amusing or evocative; others are not. The dialogue (which Silver and the actors claim was substantially improvised) is more inventive than the characterization. And Jeff Goldblum's performance as Max the rock critic is a small comic gem.

But what happens at the Mainline is not what happens around any of the weeklies I've worked on in Boston. Lines like "people don't care; nothing changes" and "we're still about telling the truth" do not exactly ring from the walls of The Real Paper's new modular-plan offices in a Cambridge high-rise. If I told a young intern, "You've got a lot of guts kid, you're gonna make a great reporter," he would either laugh or tell me to sit on it.

More than that, no one believes the myths that Silver marches out. There was much more to the late movements than the war or civil rights, and the waning of those issues was a symptom rather than a cause of the laid-back attitudes we see and feel. The old lifestyles were never revolutionary, just different; we did not sell out to capitalism, we just cashed in. And the small contributions of underground journalism during its brief heyday in the late Sixties can be seen in the investigative reports of the Boston Globe more frequently than in the featureladen pages of the "alternative" weeklies, which have neither the prestige, the money nor the inclination to dig up the kind of small scandals the Mainline's David pursues on his bicycle.

By the time these zany, lovable youngsters end their revels, the Mainline is sold to the unreconstructed mogul, Harry the smoldering rebel is fired, David survives a Mafia hit and gets his story, and Michael goes off to Manhattan with uninspired Laura in tow. The paper, which does not seem to have been very good for a long time, will probably improve, (as The Real Paper did), despite



Rock critic Max (Jeff Goldblum) has all the good lines.

the death of its ideals. Why is that | so? Silver and Barron really made a movie about a bunch of kids bored by their identity crises, rather than about the dynamics of the culture of opposition. The young people at the Mainline

have more in common with the child-stars of the Thirties who put on real good shows in the school gym (starring Mickey Rooney and Judy Garland) than with the political actors of the Sixties who put on real good shows in the

streets of Cambridge and Boston.

Between the Lines has a certain appeal as an "outsider" movie, a low-budget (\$830,000 - about what it would take to run the Mainline for three years) antidote to the disaster and demonic possession trend that still grips Hollywood. It comes on as an "alternative" movie itself, much like its subject matter. But it still has many of the earmarks of Hollywood-the simplistic characterization, the stereotyped situations, the chase and the bed scenes, the good guys and the bad: just as the Mainline, pre- and post-sale, is not nearly as much of an alternative as it appears.

With the exception of Jerry Bruck's wonderful documentary. I.F. Stone's Weekly, there has yet to be an honest American movie about newspapering - big time or little. Now, at The Real Paper, we're working on this screenplay....

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There I was, the only bird without wings at the Andau Great Bustard Sanctuary, face to face with one of the rarest, shyest creatures in the world. We got along famously. He even agreed to pose for some snapshots. Austria has no less than twelve wildlife preserves and deer parks, four zoological gardens and four magnificent bird sanctuaries. It's paradise for nature lovers. And the birds and beasts go out of their way to take pity on birds like me who need jet engines to soar. Next, for a change of pace,

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TELEVISION

RIGHT HOOK TO 'THE MOUTH'

TV Critic Charges Cosell Silent On Boxing Scandal

Just telling it like it is?

BY GARY DEEB

Woody Allen says he had breakfast one morning with Howard Cosell. "And he broadcast the bacon and eggs," Woody recalls.

It didn't really happen, of course. But the gagline neatly illustrates the loquacious image Cosell has cultivated carefully over the years; the man who "tells it like it is"...The Mouth That Roared...the garrulous fellow who regurgitates opinions faster than a machine gun spews bullets...the fearless commentator who calls them as he sees them.

The performance is a gauche masquerade. For years Cosell has been living - and enjoying - an enormously profitable charade. This all-purpose Babbitt has pawned himself off to a large segment of the public as a champion of the fan, all the while acting as Designated Huckster for any event being telecast by his network.

But Cosell's charade has exploded in his face several times in recent years - most memorably during the Israeli kidnap tragedy at the 1972 Olympics and most recently in the scandal that brought down ABC's illtitled "United States Boxing Championships," for which Cosell was the ringside announcer.

As the ABC prizefight fiasco mushroomed from week to week through February, March, and April, eventually becoming the worst scandal to hit the television

Gary Deeb is the nationally syndicated television columnist of the Chicago Tribune.

screen since the quiz-show frauds of the late 1950s, virtually everybody had something to say about

Scott LeDoux and other tournament fighters beefed about fixes, extortion, bribes, and phony records; Don King, the babbling promoter who conned ABC Sports chief Roone Arledge into bankrolling the tourney to the tune of \$1.9 million, characterized the accusations as a racist plot; Al Braverman and Paddy Flood, chief cronies of King, blamed all the trouble on ABC; the network insisted that its own my Horowitz

hands were squeaky-clean; the fiction writers at Ring magazine offered a nifty chorus of "Just One of Those Things"; and reporters and columnists across the country had a field day.

The stench permeating the tournament even stoked up some outstanding reportage by ABC's competition. Reporter Dan Rather and producer Steven Glauber put together a devastating CBS Who's Who piece on the ABC tourney, and Larry Merchant and Lee Leonard analyzed the situation early and often on NBC's Grandstand.

But what about that fearless commentator over at ABC, the 'tell-it-like-it-is" gonzo who rattles off scattershot opinions?

Well, despite the fact that Cosell calls himself a boxing expert, and despite the fact that the scandal was the biggest story to hit the fight beat in years, ABC's Designated Huckster wasn't saying a word. Hearing Cosell's on-air work, both on television and radio, at the peak of the boxing imbroglio, you got the feeling Howard hadn't been reading the

To give you an idea of just how big a story Cosell managed to miss, here's how ABC's phony

boxing tourney worked, according to various fight figures and inside sources:

(1) Arledge and ABC gave Don King a \$1.9 million stake with which to organize and produce the TV tournament.

(2) Using the ABC prize money as a lure, King and his chief henchmen, Braverman and Flood, "stole" as many fighters as possible from their rightful managers. In addition, some boxers were forced to kick back part of their winnings in order to get into the tourney.

(3) King & Co. let a few outside promoters in on their scam. These louts included Henry Grooms, Rick Giachetti, Chris Cline, George Kanter, and Johnny Ort (who also controlled statistics and rankings in Ring).

(4) King contracted to pay Ring magazine \$70,000 in ABC money to handle the stats and set up rankings in all weight divisions. In case after case, fighters controlled by King & Co. rose miraculously in the Ring rankings, usually through faked records.

(5) Finally, King hired Jim Farley, chairman of the New York State Athletic Commission, to "supervise" the ABC bouts. Farley picked the referees and



Gary Deeb (left) and Howard Cosell slug it out. Who's hitting below the belt?

judges, nearly all of whom were "friendly" to King.

Many of the charges already have been admitted. For instance:

- · ABC now agrees that Ring magazine compiled counterfeit statistics. The network confirms that at least 11 boxers were the beneficiaries of at least 30 victories in fights that never took
- ABC confirms that Houston featherweight Kenny Weldon coughed up at least \$2,500 to George Kanter, an associate of King, in order to get into the tournament.
- Ike Fluellen, a junior middleweight who hadn't fought in nearly two years, suddenly zoomed to No. 3 in the Ring rankings after he agreed to sign with manager Chris Cline, another King lackey.
- · New York Gov. Hugh Carey, angered by Farley's involvement with the dirty tourney, forced Farley to step down from his \$33,000-a-year state job.
- · And referee Joe Bunsa, who worked the infamous Scott LeDoux-Johnny Boudreaux bout, in which LeDoux was robbed of an obvious victory, has been "given a rest" by the Maryland Athletic Commission.

Meanwhile, a federal grand jury in Baltimore is investigating the ABC tourney and indictments are expected. Not to be outdone, ABC belatedly has hired Michael Armstrong, formerly with the Knapp Commission probe into New York police corruption, to spearhead an in-house probe of the tournament.

And yet, in the face of all this ferment, Cosell has become mysteriously bashful. He sees, hears, and speaks no evil.

Indeed, his only public comment on the ABC boxing fraud came on April 22 in a pathetic 30-second cop-out during his ABC radio sports program. First Cosell pleaded "no comment" while the investigation was in progress.

Then he declared: "It's going to be very interesting - as it has been up till now-to judge the writers who have been writing innuendo, smear, and a lot of other things in the past couple of weeks. It's going to be very interesting when all the chips are cashed in this situation because - and this posed newsman, Cosell must look p seems to be almost rule-of-thumb now-the writers really are indicting themselves.'

Then Cosell tucked tail and ran back to reading baseball scores and other less dangerous pursuits.

Cosell may be conveniently using the grand jury investigation as an excuse to avoid giving his audience the benefit of his expertise and judgment on this matter. In fact, there could be some areas that Cosell has been advised to avoid in public statements. However, there is still no excuse for his absolute lack of substantial comment on the overall situation.

Anybody who's surprised by Cosell's dummy act just hasn't been paying very careful attention during the last ten years or so. To begin with, the boxing tournament was an ABC brainchild, and Cosell rarely utters a discouraging word about anything on ABC. Secondly, Cosell falls on his face whenever he tries to transform himself from a bombastic shill into a real live news reporter. It gives the horse-laugh to his oftstated ambition of getting into "something more important than

For years Cosell was deeply jealous of Joe Garagiola. Besides being a popular sportscaster, Garagiola was a dandy gameshow host and a valuable member of NBC's Today show, where he often interviewed politicians, authors, and other VIPs.

Cosell yearned for that sort of versatility. He eventually got his chance when ABC anointed him as emcee of a Saturday night variety hour. At last, Cosell figured, he could dabble in showbiz - and interview important people as

Well, if you blinked sometime during the fall of 1975, you may have missed Cosell's program. ABC called it Saturday Night Live. After the premiere, a lot of folks referred to it as "Saturday Night Embalmed."

Cosell introduced singers, dancers, and lion tamers. And when he conducted an interview, it usually looked like he was about to fall on his knees and kiss the shoes of his guest. Thankfully, nobody watched, and the program was canceled after several months.

As for his wish to be a hard-

upon the 1972 Munich Olympics as the most humiliating experience of his life.

When those Israeli athletes were kidnapped by Arab guerrillas, Cosell saw an opportunity to switch from sportsmouth to foreign correspondent. But he failed miserably.

In the early hours of the ordeal. Cosell surfaced briefly to conduct a fawning interview with the best friend of one of the Israelis. In the best Cosellian tradition, he attempted to inject melodrama into an event that already was melodrama of the most frightening nature. His egocentric showmanship gave off a foul odor at a trying time. From that moment on, Cosell's on-air comments were limited almost exclusively to radio while Jim McKay, a

bonafide reporter, covered the nightmare melodrama for TV. along with Peter Jennings, Lou Cioffi, and even a confused Chris Schenkel. Cosell basically was the invisible man until the Games resumed, a fact that always will haunt him, according to close friends

So don't be surprised by Cosell's reluctance to attempt some good basic reporting on the burgeoning boxing scandal. He is neither talented enough nor courageous enough to handle it.

In the introduction to a book. Cosell once described himself, with certain qualifications, as 'vain, pompous, cruel, overbearing, and a buffoon."

He left out one important word: Insincere. That's one character trait he has yet to come to grips

TELLING IT LIKE IT IS

Cosell Charges Deeb Ignorant Of The Facts

Says ABC broke the ring story.

Howard Cosell and Gary Deeb have not talked to each other in three years. Cosell, who is by now inured to Deeb's attacks in the Chicago Tribune, calls this one "a desperate attempt to get at me." At MORE's request, Cosell described the roots of his quarrel with Deeb and disputed the factual basis of Deeb's column.

"I fear that Deeb's animus toward television sports in general, and ABC in particular, stems from Deeb's inability to land a job with ABC Sports when he was a television critic in Buffalo. I know, however, that this is an easy charge for me to make, so I prefer to attack Deeb on the facts.

"Far from covering-up the ABC/Don King boxing mess, we were the first to break open the story. While Deeb may only remember that at the close of the Scott LeDoux-Johnny Boudreaux telecast, my toupee was knocked askew by a kick from the enraged LeDoux, Roone Arledge did not permit the show to end on that

note. He ordered producer Chet Forte to break into Wide World of Sports and put me back on the air to interview some of the principals. LeDoux made the charge to me that the tournament was controlled by Paddy Flood and Al Braverman and that his fight had been fixed against him. I then asked the referee how he had been selected, and brought out the role of James Farley. Finally I asked Don King himself if he controlled Flood and Braverman and, by implication, most of the boxers in the tournament. On national television, King twice gave evasive answers, and I so characterized them as evasive answers. At that point we switched back to Wide World. For those writers not mesmerized by my askew toupee, we had provided plenty of leads to the inquiry. Does that sound like a cover-un?

"Further, I have constantly referred to fighters in the tournament as 'classless,' and to specific fights as 'gross mismatches.'

"If what Deeb wants me to do is offer a public tongue-lashing to King and everyone else involved in the tournament, he ought to know that the affair is being investigated by a Maryland grand jury and that anything I might say would be based on second-hand information and hearsay. What would he have me say without any evidence? It would be the height of journalistic irresponsibility to go on national television or radio and accuse these people of wrongdoing. I have no idea what's on the record. ABC never made me a party to the proceed-

"I understand that before the grand jury, LeDoux has reportedly recanted his public statement that his fight was fixed against him. I have not tried to use this piece of information to ABC's advantage. The facts are still coming out and I am willing to let my interview with LeDoux stand just as it was seen on national television. But his recantation illustrates the danger of making public accusations where there is more at stake than the score of a baseball game.

"Deeb also should know that ABC had a contract with King. and that if the contract was breached by ABC in any way, or for any reason that would not later stand up in court, the network could be liable for millions in damages to King. I am under no constraints in this matter. No one has shut me up. But by virtue of our contract I am nevertheless in a different position from Deeb or other non-ABC journalists.

'My own feeling is that perhaps only one indictable offense will be uncovered. But if I were to say that on national television or radio, it would no doubt look to Deeb like a self-serving whitewash. In short, no matter what I would do, Deeb would go at me. He's done it for years. He's crazy. We're dealing with a hateful, vengeful man. How am I involved in this inquiry? I was a reporter at the scene. There were plenty of print reporters at the scene. They never wrote anything negative about the tournament. I was more accurate in my descriptions of the fights than they were. What were the writers doing during all this?

"As for never uttering a discouraging word about ABC, that is utter nonsense. I've attacked big-time college sports, to the detriment of my company, because we carry NCAA football. I've attacked baseball's immunity from anti-trust law and the leagues' moving of franchises no less than four times before Congressional committees, and we carry Monday Night Baseball. I supported Ali on constitutional grounds when I was almost alone as a national spokesman. It was a very unpopular position. I've attacked the Rozelle Rule and we carry Monday Night Football. I attacked the U.S. Olympic Committee while we were carrying the Munich and Mexico City Olympics. My record is documented. Why wasn't Deeb coming to my defense when Commissioner Kuhn didn't want me to do baseball because I was too criti-

"If what Deeb wants is for me to publicly flagellate myself and ABC, even before there is any evidence of any moral wrongdoing by ABC, then Deeb is motivated by something other than a journalistic zeal for the truth. When is the last time Deeb lashed out at the Chicago Tribune for its coverage of a story?

"I question Deeb's motivation in this whole affair. Why, for example, did Deeb say he had the names of six fighters who accepted kickbacks to get into the tournament, yet refuse to make even one of the names available to ABC lawyers? Why has Deeb charged that I hate baseball because I was fired by the Mets as a play-by-play telecaster, when in fact I never had any such job with the Mets?

"What Deeb wants is to build a career as a columnist by attacking

the famous. It's not an unknown

"I predict that the boxing inquiry will serve not to expose wrongdoing by ABC, but to enlighten the public about the venality and corruption of print sportswriters who have been shilling for promoters and their mismatches for years and who have consistently failed to say one word about corruption in boxing. TV critics like Deeb, who hunt only the most visible targets, are simply cheap-shot artists.

"In summary it is my opinion that Deeb is conducting a personal vendetta to serve his own twisted purposes, without regard to the responsibility of the press to serve accuracy and truth. And I know for a fact that a preponderant majority of his colleagues not only do not respect him, but discredit him. He is a blight on journalistic standards."

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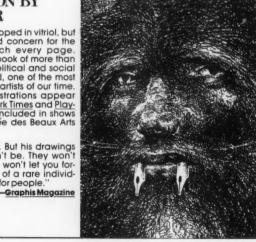
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OVERKILL

MEDIA GOLD RUSH GOES BUST

Press Prospects For Story On New Mexico Army Base

How a missile range became a henyard.

BY DAVID CHANDLER

On a Saturday morning in March, a caravan of nearly 70 vehicles gathered at the west end of a desert plateau in southern New Mexico. Present at the rendezvous were professional treasure hunters, archeologists, geologists, military police, two physicists, several mystics, and 98count 'em. 98 - national and international journalists. We had come together to find gold. And, by Saturday night, we were asking ourselves: why are we here?

We had been briefed the day before at the headquarters of White Sands Missile Range. The headquarters sits at the southern end of the bleak, nearly waterless San Andres mountain range. Fifty miles north is cone-like Victorio Peak. That's where the gold is supposed to be. One hundred tons of it, according to F. Lee Bailey, who represents several of the claimants.

At the briefing, we are told to rendezvous 6:30 Saturday morning at Upham cutoff, an obscure exit off Interstate 25. From there, we'd cross the desert - the Jornado del Muerto (dead man's journey) - and go to the peak.

We were given a handout entitled "Media Ground Rules, Operation Goldfinder" which contained this warning: "The search areas are in very rugged mountains and are not easily accessible. Sturdy hiking boots or shoes

David Chandler is a freelance writer based in New Orleans. He is currently working on a book about the Victorio Peak treasure to be published by Doubleday next year.

are strongly encouraged. The altitudes are quite high, with wide ranges in temperatures. This can be very fatiguing to individuals not accustomed to strenuous exercise

This would prove only too true. By noontime the first day, Victorio Peak was known as "Coronary Ridge."

I arrived early at Upham's cutoff, hoping to be first in line. I nearly was. Only a 60 Minutes crew, in two four-wheel Scouts, was ahead of me.

During the next half hour, we were joined by cars, trucks, campers, and four-wheel-drive vehicles. The Army's press information officer checked off the arriving press: John Bryan of the Alamogordo Daily News; Howard Bryan of the Albuquerque Tribune; Pamela Bellwood, National Geographic; Steve Futterman, Canadian Broadcasting System; Dan Rather, Greg Cooke, Phil Scheffler, 60 Minutes; Frank Bourgholtzer, NBC News; Ian Brodie, London Daily Telegraph; The Washington Star; El Paso Herald Post; Miami Herald; The New York Times; Newsweek; Reader's Digest; United Press International: Reuters: The Washington Post; Associated Press; Los Angeles Times; Dallas Times-Herald; CBS News; Rolling Stone; Time magazine; ABC

I think it was David DeVoss of Time who first looked around, raised his hands, and asked softly, Why am I here?"

DeVoss was there because Janet Huck of Newsweek was there. And vice versa. John

was there because Bill Richards of The Washington Post was there. And so on. They were the "pairs," the direct competitors. Time and Newsweek, the Times and the Post, network and network. Wherever AP goes, UPI

A reporter for the New Mexico ABC affiliate shook his head. "When we first called the network they said 'absolutely no interest.' Two hours later they called back. They'd just found out that CBS and NBC are here. They want full coverage. And that's why I'm here. It's the 'pack mentality."

Pack mentality: the apparently involuntary gathering of many reporters around an event or person, often meaningless in itself. Pack mentality is a well-known phenomenon in the business. But misnamed. Packs have leaders. What the press engages in more resembles the henyard. One chicken clucks and the others hurry over, fearful to miss something.

The clucking on the gold story began four years ago.

In March 1973, F. Lee Bailey contacted White House aide John Ehrlichman. Bailey said he represented clients who had found gold at White Sands Missile Range. He wanted permission to remove it, giving the government its legal share. As proof, Bailey submitted for assay a one-pound gold bar, allegedly part of 100 tons of bullion buried at White Sands. Bailey declined to submit a larger sample for fear it would be confiscated by the Secret Service - it then being illegal for a U.S. citizen to own gold.

Two months later, Bailey was denied permission by Army and Treasury officials who were suspicious of Bailey's motives.

Bailey promptly leaked the story to Jack Anderson. The Secret Service responded with an investigation of Bailey and, yes, confiscated his gold bar.

Anderson's column sparked little reaction outside of New Mexico. Then, in June 1973, John Dean, testifying at the Senate Watergate hearings, mentioned Bailey's contact with the White House. The story caught fire.

The Albuquerque Journal published a 12-part series by Howard Crewdson of The New York Times | Bryan who connected the gold |

with the fabled Doc Noss treasure. In 1937, Doc Noss, an adventurer and itinerant foot doctor, had supposedly found vast amounts of gold bars, "stacked like cordwood," in a large cave within the bowels of Victorio Peak. He lost access to the gold after a cave-in, and, in 1949, still attempting to recover the treasure, was shot to death by a partner. Since then, his ex-wife, Ova Noss, has made repeated attempts to excavate at Victorio Peak but has been turned away by the

The treasure-on-a-secretmilitary-base was too much to resist. Soon, Bill Richards of The Washington Post wrote a humorous, but somewhat serious, long feature. So did The New York Times. And Rolling Stone came out in December 1975 with a gloriously illustrated 15,000word feature entitled "A Hundred Tons of Gold; Wealth Enough to Totter Governments; Claimants Accuse Army of Secret Thefts ... Lawyer F. Lee Bailey on Case . . .

Pressure built in the press and in Congress demanding that the peak be opened to exploration. The Army replied that the peak was dangerously infested with live ammunition. In one attempt to prove it, they flew Howard Bryan to the site. As he reported: "We climbed out of the helicopter and began to look around. 'Be careful where you step,' [guide] Ferdig cautioned. 'I am not nearly as afraid of the rattlesnakes as I am of these unexploded 20 millimeter shells.' As he spoke, Ferdig pointed to a number of the small cannon shells along the dirt road which he said had been fired from fighter planes ... 'They tell me these duds are more dangerous now than they ever were. If you step on one, or even pick one up, there is the danger that it could explode and kill you or maim you for life."

Bryan later learned that the Army had salted the site - planted the shells for him to see.

In 1976, the Army agreed to consider the petition of one Norman Scott, a professional treasure hunter. Scott, president of Explorations Unlimited of Pompano Beach, Florida, had a good reputation among archeologists familiar with his work. The Army agreed to let Scott lead a ten-day expedition. It commenced that Saturday at the Upham exit.

By 6:30, there were more than 200 people at the exit. We gathered around to hear Norman Scott's briefing before we set out for the 30-mile trip across the Jornada.

Scott told us that sometime during the day we'd be allowed to go to a certain cliff site where there was supposedly a second treasure. This site was marked by Indian cave paintings, part of which showed "bloody hands."

"You will actually be able to see and film the bloody hands," Scott said in apparent seriousness. I think all of us were embarrassed.

Then we left. It was like the Oklahoma land rush: cars, jeeps, trucks, and campers jockeying for position. Within a mile, we had settled into a line, three miles long, bumper-to-bumper, marching across the desert at 40 miles per hour, raising an enormous storm of dust.

I rode part of the way with 80year-old Ova Noss. Healthy, sassy, and bouncing across the Jornada in a '72 Impala, she waved suspiciously at the circus around her, the press, the military, the rival claimants.

"I'm here," she said, "for just one thing. I'm going to keep my eye on this, this..." She searches for the precise word. "...This convention of liars."

It took one hour to cross the Jornada to Hell Site, the MP station guarding the entrance to Hembrillo Basin. We were asked to declare guns, alcohol, or other contraband. One TV reporter from Albuquerque had n gun. Several had beer stashed in their kits. None declared them.

We arrived at the base of the peak. It was covered with vehicle tracks. The Army, once it had agreed to the expedition, had bulldozed shut all the cave entrances—"for safety reasons."

Soon claimants were climbing the peak. One by one, a handful of reporters followed. Then, the critical mass was reached and dozens upon dozens of reporters began their climb.

I watched from below with a good set of binoculars. There was no need to climb the peak, I asDo you have a statement for the press?

Huh?

What's new Mothing are spiration mask?

What's new Mothing are spiration mask?

sured Howard Bryan. He agreed. We could see everything better from where we were.

Half an hour later I was huffing up the hill in the company of the 60 Minutes crew. Tempers grew short. Bad words were exchanged. Personalities began to disintegrate.

When I got to the top, Howard Bryan was already there. He was telling other reporters about the Apaches, pointing to the east where their reservation begins. The Apaches, too, have filed a claim for the gold.

A Los Angeles radio reporter came up. The week before he had seen a Six-Million-Dollar-Man episode dealing with the modern Apaches. Now, hearing Bryan, he is alarmed.

"Is there Apache danger here?" he asked. Bryan looked at him mournfully and nodded.

Within the week, two false reports of gold strikes have made the news. The first originated with Tony Russomanno of News Pace, an FM network out of Santa Barbara, California. "I told the manager, just as a joke, they had found gold. The turkey believed me and within 20 minutes I had a call from ABC saying they were

sending out a crew. God, they move fast. I told them it was a misunderstanding and stopped it."

The source of the second report is unknown. It emanated from a New Mexico or El Paso radio station and spread so fast that White Sands had to issue a formal denial.

During the first week, the one "news" event that occurred was Norman Scott's wrenching the tendons of his arm. He was evacuated by helicopter. I hadn't seen it and I asked two reporters who had seen him leave which arm was injured. "The left," said one. "No, it was the right," said the other. Intrigued, I ran a poll. Thirteen reporters and cameramen who had seen the evacuation said it was the left; eleven said the right. It was the right

Every day, we'd get up and have breakfast at 5 a.m.; rendezvous at 6:30; ride to the base of Victorio Peak; climb the mountain a couple of times; and do a lot of sitting around on rocks. One enterprising newspaperman from El Paso bought respiration masks to sell to the diggers. He bought at 50 cents each and sold at

a dollar. It wasn't the profit, he said, but the action that he needed. Another reporter had brought some pretty good Colombian and sat, weaving, on a rock getting stoned all day long. After three days of it, he was close to sunstroke.

Many of the press and virtually all of the claimants stayed at the Radium Springs Hotel, an isolated spa, built in the 1930s, with three toilets (you go down the hall), and staffed by friendly Mexicans, musicians, and hippies.

The days went by. The press shrank. Those that remained were mostly the competitive pairs, caught in the henyard. The claimants and the reporters became tired. No gold was found. What appeared to be Noss's cavern was located, but there was no way to penetrate it. Other claimants were proved fraudulent.

The last day was Thursday, March 31. There was no digging on the mountain except for one lone claimant with a pick and shovel. The bulldozers were gone. The sophisticated electronic equipment was packed.

There were about a dozen reporters left. All were from local TV and newspapers, except for one man from 60 Minutes who had stayed behind. Finally, the Army blew the whistle and the lone claimant came down. He was Joe Newman, an El Paso agent for the Apache claim. He told Howard Bryan, "I was only one to three feet away from breaking through. Another hour and I could do it."

The expedition packed up and headed back to Hell Site. Waiting for them there was the last reporter to do interviews. He was John Crewdson of the *Times*. His final story pointed up the inconclusiveness of it all:

"WHITE SANDS, N. M.—
Old Doc Noss would have loved
every minute of it— all those
people clustered day after day
near the summit of Victorio Peak,
his peak, waiting patiently
through the heat and wind and
rain for word that a fabulous lost
treasure, his treasure, had once
again been found..."

Nothing had been settled. We had all been there because the others were there.

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FURTHERMORE

CHASING THE PRESS

David Rockefeller Pans Business Reporting

Cites stories on 'problem' banks.

It seems that no one has a kind word for the way the press covers business in the United States—not even the press itself. Recently, Washington Post publisher Katharine Graham called on the business community to demand coverage that "is accurate, fair and grounded in real understanding of events."

In April, MORE examined the state of business reporting and found it in great need of repair. This month, as a follow-up to that report, we excerpt some remarks made at the Economic Club of New York in March by Chase Manhattan Bank Chairman David Rockefeller.

BY DAVID ROCKEFELLER

I don't think much of the way business is frequently reported in this country and I'd like to discuss two recent examples of stories I consider superficial and misleading. The first concerns the so-called "problem banks," the second the "problem" of bank lending to foreign borrowers.

The "problem bank" story focused on Chase and Citibank, and first appeared on the front page of the Sunday Washington Post early last year. Basically, the story concerned a then 18-month-old confidential report of the Comptroller of the Currency which allegedly labeled both institutions as "problem banks." Reaction from the banks, the Comptroller, and the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board was immediate and unified in its denunciation of the newspaper article and the implications it suggested for the soundness of the U.S. banking system.



David Rockefeller

Two days after the Post's revelations, The New York Times rushed to print with a one-year-old Federal Reserve Board list of 35 "problem" bank-holding companies. Some days later an FDIC list of 300 "problem banks" was revealed. Whatever happened to these so-called "problem banks," and were they ever really in trouble in the first place? And if they were, how so exactly? In other words, where is the perspective we would have hoped the press would provide?

The Chase staff analyzed a number of the largest banks reported to be on various problem lists—19 in all—including the original two reported to be on the Comptroller's list and the remainder from the reported Federal Reserve Board list. All were analyzed on the basis of their annual reports for 1975—the same year each was reported to be on a "problem" list.

Here's what we found about these 19 so-called "problem banks":

- Their assets totaled approximately \$180 billion.
- Their net earnings for 1975 totaled approximately \$800 million — even after providing over \$1 billion in reserves for possible loan losses.
- During the year, they paid out in dividends approximately \$320 million to literally hundreds of thousands of shareholders.

And what of loan losses-the primary concern of media doomsayers? Well, loan losses for these 19 banks in 1975 totaled almost \$1 billion. A huge amount indeed. But again to put things in perspective, there are two other even larger numbers which must be taken into account to truly understand the loan-loss figure. One is the reserve for possible loan losses, which totaled \$1.05 billion for the 19 banks at the end of 1975. Moreover, total loans for these banks aggregated approximately \$105 billion. Put another way - in this admittedly difficult year for banking - total losses of these so-called "problem banks" were less than 1 per cent of their loan portfolios.

Of course banks have had problems in recent years. But suffering a bad case of flu is a lot different than having an incurable disease. If there is any real news regarding "problem banks," it is that the banking system has always had problems of that magnitude or, in other words, not really problems at all.

Today's new wave of "problem banking" stories is concentrating on the foreign lending of American banks as it questions the extent of the banking system's commitment to the economic improvement of the less-developed nations.

There seem to be two concerns. The first is the claim that the large volume of foreign lending by U.S. banks has resulted in the denial of credit to U.S. borrowers and has thus delayed the U.S. recovery. The second is the allegation that banks have made large numbers of unsound foreign loans with the expectation that the government will bail them out.

The first charge is flatly untrue. The fact is that a 15 per cent decline over two years in loans from major U.S. banks to commerce and industry has resulted in particularly fierce bank competition for new loan business in the U.S. Your once-friendly banker has become downright compassionate. The suggestion that foreign lending has led to the denial of credit to domestic borrowers is nonsense.

As to the second charge, it is too often forgotten that the largest proportion of overseas loans by American banks - about 70 per cent of our total at Chase - is to industrial countries, including the OPEC surplus nations, hardly unsound loans. Moreover, among LDCs, (less-developed countries) the greatest volume of credit has been extended to what the World Bank calls "high- or mediumincome" nations - countries like Mexico and Brazil. Comparatively little bank lending has flowed into so-called low-income countries - India. Pakistan, and many African nations.

Clearly some LDCs have performed better than others, and each has to be judged on its own merits. Bank debt to a number of these countries has been expanding at a rate that should not, and cannot, be sustained. This does not mean, however, that loans to these countries at present are excessive; nor that banks need "bailing out." It does mean that bank lending will need to slow down and that public policies must be directed at correcting the problems that give rise to such lending - most particularly, the persistent deficits in the balance of payments of many nations, both industrial and less developed. It is on these public policies, in my judgment, that the attention of the press and the Congress should be focused. We cannot hope to solve these problems if our attention is diverted to scare stories and apocalyptic warnings.

The media needs to sharpen the comprehensiveness of their treatment, strengthen their capacity to follow up stories and events, and enhance their ability to help the public understand what one event means in relation to another. In short, the media must do the hard work of analysis and explanation right along with simply reporting what happened or what someone said.

YEARS-AGO

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It's obscene to think that the fight for free speech is still going on today.

Actual police photo taken after Lenny Bruce died

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